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H.F.M

REPORTS ON ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY THE NATIVES EXAMINED BY THE ASSISTANT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS AND ON VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATOR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

(January to June 1922).

For the week ending 7th January 1922.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col. 4. Remarking that, though since the return of the Reverned Mr. Andrews from Kenya, there was a hope that a compromise might be effected by the Governor of that province between the Indians and the Europeans there, the statement of the Governor reported in the Bombay Chronicle, that he had communicated the views of both the parties to the Secretary of State for the colonies, makes it clear that the final decision of this matter rests with that officer, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th December, adds:--But judging from the attitude of that officer all along, there is no room for any hope. If, in spite of the Indians having given in largely in view to effect a compromise, he does not decide in their favour and fulfil their legitimate aspirations, the difference shown by British statesmen between word and deed will become patient.

Indians in Kenya.

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8. Referring to the advice given by General Smuts to the Indians in South Africa that they should not put forth any efforts to get the Indian problem solved, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th December, writes:--......The whitemen are as much foreigners to South Africa as the Indians. That being so, we do not know why the Indians who have been living there for a long time should quit and why the whitemen alone should continue to live there.

General Smuts' excellent advice.

It only illustrates the arrogance of power. From what General Smuts had said, this appears to be a trick played to drive the Indians from South Africa. The necessity for strenuous work on the part of the Indians to attain swaraj is clearly evident.

B.P. 10. The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd January, reproduces in Tamil an article contributed to the Tribune by one K. Santaman, undergoing imprisonment as a political prisoner in the Lahore jail, wherein he details his experience of jail life and makes a special mention of how the food given to the prisoners smells of foecal matter and the bread is only half baked.

Political prisoners in jail.

Pro. 11. Referring to the rejection by the Government of a resolution of the Taluk Board of Bapatla to the effect that liquor shops should not be located within the limits of the Taluk Board, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 29th December, remarks that such rejection shows that the aim of the Government is to permit such shops to be opened and make money and that it is not their duty to inquire after the welfare of the people.

The Bapatla Taluk Board.

Genl. 15. Anent the Mapilla train tragedy, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 22nd December, remarks:--

Mapilla tragedy.

The Indian police is absolutely bereft of humanity. They will be harming the people in many ways with inordinate severity...... Their duty is simply to realise their object, doing harm to some section or other. Though there is selfishness innate in all persons, to a greater or smaller extent, the administration of this department, which is 'demoniacial' is indeed regrettable......The British rulers would be doing their supreme duty if they punish at this juncture, after due enquiry, officers really culpable, instead of being partial to them. The people are marking with care that the Government xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx have been deviating from the path of justice in all matters. The Government are responsible for this state of affairs. Otherwise the people will have every confidence in the system of administration This suspicion has become stronger in the country as the British Government is showing racial partiality fearlessly. They say that Indians are not progressing owing to racial differences, but the Europeans are the very first people to prescribe distinctions of race. India is feeling her degradation, as if deceived even in her racial superiority. ...... As long as distinctions of colour exist, people cannot have faith in the impartiality of the British administration. It is therefore that the enquiry by Mr.Knapp is looked upon with suspicion. When there are competent Indians it is not well that a European should be appointed to conduct the enquiry. Such desplicable events (as the train tragedy) cannot but occur so long as there is no impartial administration. Justice x demands that the unwisdom of careless officers should not go unchasticed. Otherwise, the people will once more express their indignation.........

Cong. 16. Adverting to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having visited the memorial of Sivaji, during his stay at Poona, and showered praises on this hero,

The Prince and Sivaji.

the Vartakamitran, of the 27th November, writes:--Even the statement that Sivaji was an excellent loyalist will be received with joy by the present-day Mahratta'kings'. What a devotion the Prince has for Sivaji! Lokamanya Tilak started the Sivaji festival and this provoked the Government of India. The Indian officials were terrified by the grandeur of the festival. The Lokamanya is dead and the Prince has opened the memorial of Sivaji. What is the secret of this? Are the Government of India laughing at the late Lokamanya or is it the impression of the authorities that they have crushed the real spirit of the Mahrattas? We do not want to read the minds of people. The Government have as proved of the work of Lokamanya in this ~~xepecxx~~ respect. Will the authorities approve of the Swaraj, which the Lokamanya deemed to be his birthright and give effect to it? The practical result is our only proof and we await it.

Genl. 18. The Prince of Wales. Making fun of the grounds, adduced by the Government for the recent imprisonment of hundreds of Congress-workers and volunteers x that, while almost all the people in India are eager to welcome the Prince of Wales, a few xxxxxxxxxx seditionists alone are acting in concert and intimidating and coercing the vast majority of the loyalists to observe hartal during his visit and that, on a vast number of such loyalists xx petitioning Lord Reading, Lord Ronaldshay and others to protect them from the cruelties practised by the Congress-workers, the Viceroy and the Governors have had to embark on their present policy, the Tamil Nadu, of the 25th December, observes:--But as a matter of fact, before these measures were resorted to, at least a few persons welcomed the Prince and a few shops were kept open at the places visited by him. After such resort, however, not even a small shop is open, even those people who take a walk outside do not stir out of their houses on the day of his visit and allthe streets are vacant; almost all the people who participate in the welcome are Europeans and it is difficult to find students in Colleges. Cannot one person at least among those who petitioned the Government as aforesaid, keep his shop open? From this fact alone our readers can understand what the truth is. The fact is that the bureaucracy thought that, if the Congress leaders and propagandists were confined in prison, the masses would welcome the Prince for fear of the jail. But their expectations not only ended in failure but produceed a result quite contrary thereto! If one enters the gates of prison a hundred persons come forward to take their placex if the Congress-workers are imprisoned in hundreds, thousands of people apply for the enjoyment of prison life. And we hope that the Prince will be aware of all these incidents. He cannot entertain the slightest doubt about the attitude of the Indians even after the 'piteous' sight he witnessed at Benares

and Allahabad. If the general opinion that the Prince of Wales is very shrewd is true, he will terminate his tour at this stage, return home and explain to the British Ministers the true mental attitude of the Indians to be inferred from all that he saw with his own eyes. But as he is now under the clutches of the British authorities, it may indeed be said that it will be impossible for him to act in this manner; for we have not heard that he possesses the extra-ordinary strength of mind which is requisite therefor. Hence it follows that he should, of necessity, go from place to place and pass in procession throught vacant streets lined by closed shops.

Parties. 19. Remarking that the moderates, being panic-stricken at the imprisonment of thousands of Congress workers for the crime, among others, of having persuaded

The present situation.

the people to observe hartal in allthe places visited by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, are asserting that a compromise should be effected between the people and the Government, the Tamil Nadu, of the 25th December, observes:--It should, however, be understood that the authorities will not bend their heads to us nor will they lend ear to our suggestions until many more enter prison so as to make it difficult for us to find accommodation in the rest-houses of King George. Nor will they seek a genuine compromise with us until they realize that their armies and cannon cannot match our soul- force- Do the moderates think that the authorities realize this fact now? But the Viceroy' reply to the deputation of the moderates at Calcutta is clear indicative of the real mentality of the Government. And it w be but a day-dream on the part of the co-operators if they d not wake up even now but are still under the impression that reconciliation is possible in a short time. Further, if,

even after having been so much insulted by the Viceroy they think that they can achieve all their objects solely by means of co-operation with the Government, we regret their folly and absence of self-respect. Whatever may be the opinion of the co-operators, the non-co-operators can possibly have only one opinion in the matter of compromise and that is that any attempt to effect a compromise with the bureaucracy at present will be an act of egregious folly. Hence, it is desirable that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors realise that we cannot stop our peaceful war unless the bureaucracy makes a promise that it will act in consonance with popular opinion in regard to the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and swaraj.

E.I. 20. Remarking that the hartal at Calcutta on the 17th November in connexion with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was unrivalled in point of its peacefulness and non-violence, the Vartakamitran, of the 4th December, observes:--This was due to the special propaganda of the Congress and Khilafat workers and to the tactful work of the volunteers, but this is not relished by the Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It is the presumption of Englishmen that no other race in the world can appreciate the nicety of the law and the glory of peace. Europeans deem it to be their duty to settle the disputes among other races, who, according to them, are ever quarrelling with one another, and civilise them. A heavy burden indeed! Being arrogant by nature, they expect others to bow before them and if this is not done they begin to cry out that the prestige of the law has been affected. Thus, bowing to the English has, as a matter of fact, come to mean venerating the law. As the prestige of the law is at

The City Civil Guard.

stake, arrangements are being made by Europeans and Anglo-Indians to raise a City Civil Guard in Calcutta. But under what provision of law is this force being raised? If the existing Police force is unable to secure peace, it amounts to saying that the Government have become powerless. Do the Europeans and Anglo-Indians propose to establish a new Government in place of the one that has lost its power? Towards whom should the citizens of Calcutta evince their loyalty in future? Is it to the City Civil Guard or to King George V or to his provincial Governors? Queer indeed is the manner in which powers are invested and laws passed in this country. Every one is aware of how, in Ireland, the Sinn Feiners, who wanted home-rule, were opposed by the small band of Ulsterites, how on the latter forming a City Guard, the former raised a Volunteer Corps to counteract the same and how the loyalists thus brought about a revolution in the country. It is necessary to warn the Europeans in India, that mistaken and meaningless loyalty will only lead to such consequences. These resort to such hasty acts, as a result of their pride. It is certain that the Government that support such a wrong step also get staggered. It is only in such circumstances that the people should do their work peacefully but with promptitude.

Cong. 21. Referring to the praise said to have been bestowed by the Governor of Bengal on Mr. C.R.Das in the course of his speech at a banquet recently held at Calcutta, the Vartakamitran, of the 4th December, observes:--We are not elated with joy at the Governor of Bengal having recognised the merits of the President of the Congress. This eulogy serves no real purpose. The time is past when the authorites deluded Indian leaders by false praise. We have all along been regretting the exhibition of this slavish spirit. We are now elated to see Governors and authorities shuddering at the Congress. We are no doubt glad that the officials have been deprived of the prestige of authority and have become ordinary folk contending with us. Hereafter success will attend only those who are on the path of truth. The Congress would never have passed a resolution to completely change the present administrative policy if it were afraid of repressive measures. Let the Governor of Bengal kindly note this.

The Governor of Bengal and the Congress.

Short notes.

22. The Tamil Nadu, of the 25th December, contains the following short notes on a variety of subjects:--We learn that the authorities have withheld a telegram sent recently by Mr.C.Rajagopala Achariyar to Mr.Gandhi about the Executive of the Congress and returned it to the former after the expiry of two weeks and that the telegrams xxxx sent by the President of the Provincial Congress Committee in the Punjab to Mr.Gandhi have also shared the same fate. Though we are put to certain inconveniences on account of such petty mischief on the part of the authorities, we are glad that the bureaucracy which reviled and strongly condemned the non-co-operation movement are now adopting the same policy towards us. But as this movement, which is based on passivity, will be productive of victory only in respect of truth and virtue, there is not the least doubt that the bureaucracts will have only to hand their heads before us in the battle now fought by us as they are actuated by the unrighteous motive of destroying the liberty granted to all people by God. All persons will, however, agree that it is more laudable on the part of the authorities to wage war with us, armed only with non-violent non-co-operation, than to strive to crush our movement with powder and shot. But unrighteousness and non-violence can very seldom keep company and we need not therefore entertain the slightest fear that all the authorities will have recourse to the same weapon as is handled by us.

It is perfectly patent from the arrest by the authorities of women and boys by means of barbarous laws that our peaceful movement is making the former lose their balance of mind. And in a few days, their brain will get deranged further and they will resort to measures several times more cruel than now.

Just as, in our province, Messrs. C.Rajagopala Achariyar, M.V.Subrahmanya Sastriyar and E.V.Ramaswami Nayakar have been imprisoned by the bureaucracy on account of their having resorted to passive resistance, the Congress leaders alone are being sent to jail throughout the country, as the idea of the authorities is that our movement will die in the absence of the leaders. It is, therefore, the duty of the Tamilians to act in such a way as to make the Government understand that they are thoroughly mistaken on their idea.

Our readers know that, after Mr.E.V.Ramaswami Nayaker went to jail, his wife and sister have been picketting toddy shops and are pursuing passive resistance along with others and it is certain that, when such gems of women exist in our land, our aim will be realised very speedily. These ladies in the Tamilland and those of the family of Mr.C.R.Das in Bengal are setting an example to their brethren and sisters throughout India. And there is nothing more disgraceful than that the people of the Tamil land should call themselves, men and stand aloof from service to their country even after witnessing the heroic deeds of such gems among women.

The District Magistrate of Madura has passed an order prohibiting the exhibition of films of the Mahabharata by a Bioscope Company in that place, wherein spinning wheels and looks were exhibited to the public. It is clear from this incident that there is nothing impossible to be effected under the omnipotent section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and an order may even be passed under that section that all persons wearing the sacred thread should wear only such thread as is made of foreign yarn. Spinning wheels look like bombs in the eyes of the authorities. It would be very good if that Magistrate orders that none should spin with the handed-wheel; for, in that case, a suitable opportunity will be afforded for men, women and children to adopt passive resistance. We expect

We expect that the District Magistrate of Madura and his brethren will grant our prayer as early as possible.

Genl. 23. The Tamil Nadu, of the 25th December, publishes a long communication under this heading from the pen of a correspondent, who exhorts Indians to join the movement of passive resistance started by Mr.Gandhi so as to secure peace and pleasure to the land of Bharata, which is perturbed, being 'bound by the brute-force of the bureaucracy armed with weapons', and says:--We were under the impression that, if Lord Chelmsford left our shores for good, not only would the ill-luck that attended India disappear but the position of the Viceroy also would regain its old glory. But Lord Reading, who succeeded him, proved to be the elder brother of his predecessor. He has evidently forgotten the truth of the saying that it is virtue that triumphs. Has he not yet realized that the repressive policy adopted by him, transgressing all bounds of law, has caused discontent to flame forth in the hearts of all persons throughout the country and has served to create a thirst for liberty in the hearts of the children of the soil? Though the bureaucrats have provoked and molested the Congress leaders who have lost the attachment they had for the bureaucratic rule, started a peaceful war and spread the spirit of liberty in the land, these leaders have, without losing their patience in the least, stood by truth and entered prisons to do penance there for their birthright. Not being content with having brought into play brute-force which binds the patriots by repressive measures, the Viceroy is going from town to town, partakes of very delicious dinners and exhorts the people to accord a loyal reception to the Prince of Wales, in that their grievances will be redressed

A warning to Lord Reading.

and England has given them the 'unique' reforms. But let us see what are the privileges that have been granted to us. They are the useless Legislative Councils and the several repressive Acts which followed one after another and are causing misery to the Indians.......The English, who came as merchants, not only seized our mother-country by their trickery, but also deprived us of our birthrights. ....The Government of India has now lost the confidence of the Indians. How can we describe the wisdom of Lord Reading, who resorts to constant repression and unjustly imprisons non-co-operators, who have lost their faith in British justice and thus thinks of quenching fire by pouring oil thereon? O, Lord Reading! Are you not, indeed, bringing about danger to the British Empire and the Government in India by striving to suppress the non-co-operation movement by unlawful laws? Was it not by the exhibition of rude force that Surapadma, Duryodhana, Hiranya, Ravana and others were ruined?

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24. Referring to the royal message to the Provincial Governonors that members of the Executive Council and Ministers should confer together so that the latter may be benefitted

The Ministers and the Present policy.

by understanding the views of the officials and the views of the public may become known to the Executive Council through the Ministers and to the statement of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji that he was not consulted by the Governor of Bengal in the matter of adopting repressive measures, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th December, remarks that if Babu Bannerji considers that he has been insulted by the Governor, the proper course for him will be, as pointed out by the Statesman, to keep aloof, without continuing to be a member of the Government and bothering them, and asks if Mr. Bannerji and the other Ministers who disapprove of the repressive policy will have the courage to do so.

Cong. 25. Referring to the recent session of the Indian National Congress held at Ahmedabad, the Navasakti, of the 30th December, writes:--It may be said that this session has proved that it is possible for India to attain swaraj not by words but by action. All the Indians, whatever party they may belong to, have been roused by the repressive policy of the Government.

Continuing its comments on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st December, observes that it is clear from the resolution brought forward by Moulana Hasarat Mohani and the support it elicited from any delegates, that the representatives, while being firmly convinced of the necessity of fulfilling the aims of the Congress, are anxious that the country's goal should be placed on the forefront of all their doings and adds:--Mr.Mohana's resolution fell through on Mr.Gandhi's pointing out that the Congress had no right to refuse help from any quarter whatever. We hope, nevertheless, the British Government will note that that resolution reflects the spirit of a section of the people in the country. By denying home rule to Ireland at a time when she would have been content therewith, the British Government brought into existence the Sinn Fein party. But God alone knows whether or not they will profit by their experience in Ireland and take precautionary measures to see that no such party appears in India also.

The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd January 1922, reverts to this subject and, remarking that the Congress has acquired a special strength in its determination and policy from an unexpected quarter, viz., the Government, ever since the latter began to imprison every one carrying out the mandates of the Congress, observes:-- Considering

that swzraj is near at hand, seeing that the work of the non-co-operation movement in the past year has developed the spirit of fearlessness and sacrifice and the people have consequently lost their regard for the Government, the Congress, which reiterated, in its very first resolution, the necessity of continuing the non-co-operation movement even this year, has, like a true warrior, realized the duty of giving battle to one that seeks it and appealed to people to begin their struggle with the Government. But it has at the same time resolved that, without resorting to the barbarous methods adopted by countries like Ireland under similar circumstances, India should abide by a passive policy, in consonance with her ancient glory. The Government have afforded a fitting opportunity for this, as they have declaredx in effect that it is an offence on the part of any person to exercise his inherent right of conveying his opinion to others and associating with those whom he likes and imprisoned thousands of persons on this principle. As we, however, hold a different view, we should continue to do what we deem to be our birthright. If the Government apply the physical force at their command and imprison those engaged in the work mentioned above, the latter should enter prison cheerfully.

Genl. 27. Adverting to a notice said to have been entered in his order book by the Principal of of the D.A.V.College of Lahore, that all students should wear pure khaddar dress in summer and silk clothing in winter in pursuance of a resolution passed to that effect by the students thereof, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st December, expects that the headmasters of schools, the principals of colleges and the municipal authorities in the Madras Presidency also, be they co-operators or non-co-operators, will do likewise in the interests of India and her industries.

Students and Khaddar dress.

N.C.S. 28. The Swadesamitran, of the 31st December, publishes a communication from a correspondent, who relates that several public meetings in furtherance of the Congress propaganda were recently held in Madura, out of which those held on the 22nd and 23rd idem passed resolutions protesting against an address having been presented to the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Habib-ul-la-Sahib Bahadur, in the name of the people of Madura and the one held on the 26th idem was presided over by Janab Haji Saiyid Shamshuddin Sahib, the Vice-Chairman of the local municipality, who spoke of the advantages resulting to the country from non-violent non-co-operation, the use of spinning wheels and abstinence from drink and who also announced that he had taken the propagandist's place rendered vacant by the imprisonment of Janab Haji Muhammad Moulana Sahib.

Congress propaganda in Madura.

Genl. 32. The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, publishes a communication from a correspondent intimating the formation of a Volunteer Corps in Conjeeveram by ten students who issue printed pamphlets relating mostly to subjects like union, swadeshism and temperance. It reports also the fact of a meeting of the National Volunteer Corps at the office of the Khilafat Committee at Rajagiri on the 30th December 1921 and of 70 volunteers having enlisted in the corps till then.

Volunteer forces.

This paper also publishes the declaration of five delegates who attended the Congress, that they have enlisted during the Congress session itself as volunteers to conduct the boycott of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Madras and that they are ready to do any service required of them at an appointed place and time, so as to make the boycott a success, as in Calcutta.

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Parties. 33. Referring to this subject, the Dravidan, of the 31st December, writes:--

The Indian Student's Conference.

The resolutions passed at this conference will undoubtedly evoke the disgust of sincere patriots. We are indeed inconsolably grieved to think of the attempt of the extremists to hurl the inexperienced and irresponsible students into a bottomless pit!

E.I. 34. In a note under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, writes:--

The equal status of the Indians.

British Ministers are incessantly proclaiming that Indians have been granted equal status within the British Empire; but as a matter of fact, the Indian is unwelcome in every colony within the Empire. In such circumstances it is not without grounds that many Indians question what benefit India derives by continuing to be a member of the British Empire, without enjoing any of the rights enjoyed by the other members.

Genl. 35. The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, publishes, under this heading a communication from a correspondent, wherein the following matter finds place among others:--There is no doubt that the British Government are quite impertial in the matter of their repressive policy and it can be clearly seen from the histories of India and Egypt that it is absolutely against their gain to give up easily what has once come into their clutches. The national movement has gained considerable strength in India and Egypt and the British, with whom self-interest is everything, have started on a campaign to kill this movement in both the countries. It is not known as yet as to how Ireland is going to decide the question of the Irish treaty. It is no wonder that the British Government is not inclined to give up its worthless pertinacity, even while it is on the two, nay, the three horns of a dilemma. It is only as a result of such a pertinacity that good days dawned on America and Britain lost it. And it is certain that Egypt and India will win swaraj, if Britain persists in being obstinate as at present.

Egypt and India.

Parties. 36. Reverting to this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, writes:--It is really surprising that the moderates should have a faith in imploring, even after knowing the reply of Mr.Montagu and Lord Lytton regarding the resolution of the Legislative Assembly. However this may be, one thing has become clear and that is that true moderates are not prepared to support the repressive measures of the Government and that they have lost even the little confidence they had originally in the political reforms now in force. The time is gone when the Government could continue, patting the moderates on the back, without giving up their authority, and what are they going to do hereafter?

The Moderate Conference.

P.P. 37. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th December, publishes under this heading some verses to the following effect:-- The jail is our heaven. The prisoners are our relatives. We will be there composed. We will not be sorry. There is no shelter for us to stand under bureaucratic authority. So the jail is the heaven on earth given by God Gandhi. The mere fact that one sells swadeshi cloths brings him this heaven. Even women devoted to their husbands are going to this place of exile. Perhaps room may not be available for us. The jail is filled with Rama Dandu (volunteers) of Chirala. Why do you look with surprise? Brother! We must enter into it.

The jail song.

N.C.S. 40. Under this heading, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 28th December, observes in its leader:--

Peace is ornament.

Nothing is known as to what the Government intend doing with regard to the negotiations between themselves and the people. People who long for a life of tranquillity do not know what else to do than to lend a helping hand to Government. If the followers of Gandhi do not respect the wishes of the people at least to the same extent as the Government, they should know that they are digging the grave of their own enterprise. Under the plea that the followers of Gandhi are behaving impudently (in the country,) the Government employ repressive measures and cause suffering to the people. They should realize that thereby they are turning the whole nation into non-co-operators, and should therefore speedily strive to convene a Round-table Conference.

Genl. 43. Referring to the importance attached by the Government to the degrees obtained in the English Universities, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 23rd December, says:--

Indian students in England.

It is such conditions that are spurring on the Indian youth to go to England. It is very incumbent on the Indian Government to free the Indians from the useless expenditure and trouble involved in this, to create the necessary educational facilities (in this country) and to afford patronage.

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44. In its leader under this heading the Kistnapatrika, of the 24th December, observes to the following effect:--...........

The one question.

We shall take no thought of material prosperity; but We venture to put one question to the moderate leaders who are the champions of the reforms. Has India got at least the primary rights calculated to enable a man to maintain his existence, to behave as a human being and in a way worthy of man?...... Before the coming of these reforms, had the sections of 107, 108 and 144 of Criminal Procedure Code ever been applied. To stem political agitation where have you will the liberty of speech? When matters have come to such a pass that security is demanded of such a righteous person as Mr.Bhagavand Das do you still fancy that you have liberty of speech? Is it a crime to set up the charka flag, to sell the khaddar cloth, to wear the Gandhi cap, to preach against drinking and to join the volunteer corps for preserving peace? Should saintly persons such as Messrs. Moti Lal and Chittaranjan be sent to jail? and even women placed under restraint when Vani-devi (the goddess of speech) herself is gagged? How can you still keep aloof putting up with it?........Have you at least now realised that the Turkish peace treaty requires revision, that the pensions of the perpetrators of the Punjab massacres should be stopped that the present reforms do not lay the foundations of swaraj and that the liberties of the Indian people lie at the mercy of the bureaucracy?......... What is your duty after the Viceroy's reply to the moderate deputation at Calcutta?...........Note what Adil Pacha, the moderate leader of Egypt, has done......The one question that Mother India puts to every Indian is, whether he is on the side of the country or that of the bureaucracy.

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46. Under this heading the Kistnapatrika, of the 24th December, remarks that the mischievous acts' done by the whitemen of the Kênya settlement in respect of Mr. Andrews defy description, and gives a Telugu version of what Mr.Andrews has stated wherein the whitemen are reported to have said to him, "O! You the son of a whore! Have you gone over to the side of the blackmen receiving their money"?

The wicked acts of whitemen. The experience of Mr.Andrews.

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48. Referring to the arrest of Mr.Desai who published the manuscript copy of the Independent, the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th December, observes:-- The arrest of the leaders is only helping to increase the enthusiasm of the country. What doubt is there that the people's victory is near at hand?

Mr.Desai.

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50. The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th December, refers to the resolution passed by the Madras representatives who went to the Ahmedabad Congress on the question of completely boycotting the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince to Madras, and says:-- From this, one can see that Madras also will firmly express its heart, like the rest of the provinces.

The duty of the Madras Province.

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51. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 27th December, makes an exhortation to students to leave their colleges, plunge into the war of non-violence, and earn the reputation of being the worthy followers of the leaders now undergoing imprisonment.

The Madras students.

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54. Referring to the success of the hartal in Calcutta on the day of His Royal Highness the Prince's visit, the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th December, syas, that although the authorities repressed volunteers and leaders by thousands they were not able to accomplish their purpose, and remarks that they should learn a lesson from this.

Hartal at Calcutta.

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55. The Nyaya Dipika, of the 26th December, contains an article (perhaps from the pen of a correspondent) to the following effect: The presitge of Government has suffered owing to repressive measures having been adopted in every province. British administration has at last become an object or ridicule in the view of the people. Every European leader is ashamed of and disgusted with this policy of repression. When repressive measures are deemed an amusement and not a troublesome thing by the people, it shows the mental weakness of the authorities to punish the people with such a farce. It is surprising that British statesmen are ignorant of the fact that it is not easy to administer a country with severity. All parties have lost their confidence in the Government and have considered them

Evolution of the Indian nation.

to be cruel. The Viceroy, who is considered to possess eminent qualities, has lost his reputation........It is natural that internal quarrels among a people living in the same country die away during a revolution. The administrators, who do not like the union of the people, have found people uniting, owing to the policy of repression.........If the confidence of the people is forfeited, it is difficult to administer the country, in spite of crores of guns and armies...........It looks barbarous to use the jails intended for thieves and offenders for the purpose of imprisoning respectable leaders.

It is liable to be construed as unstatesmanly if the Government do not consider that they can realise their object by enlisting the loyalty of the people but think that they can secure administrative facilities by undesirable punishments.....There is nothing strange in that the Government, who cannot see their way to secure the confidence of the people, consider governing a country as being equivalent to administering jails. It does not appear that Lord Reading has noted that in the end all the parties will agree as to their goal. All aim at the attainment of independence. It betrays shortsightedness that the higher authorities have disregarded the honour of the Government, and failed to note the unity of ideals that the authorities have now to beg for the loyalty of the people is due to their own faults. There is no reason whatsoever for the Anglo Indians to suspect the Indians, who desire to have the British glag permanently. It will not be advantageous for long to think of using their influence against justice........The selfishness of the white race, which intends to stem the tide of India's progress, is indeed a sin.

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56. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th December, writes under this heading:

The modern civilisation and its effects. --We hear many say that the poverty of India is due to the advent of the English. ....Many who had been happy formerly with milk and grain are now suffering from poverty. Everywhere this is the case. Most of the wealth of the country has gone into the hands of foreigners. What remained has accumulated in the hands of a few in India. The generality of the people are therefore suffering from poverty and this is due to modern civilisation. As a result of British factories, the spinning wheels and handicrafts have declined. Modern civilization has increased the cost of living. Those ryots who have any property with them have learnt from the British to lend money on interest. As a result of this, the poor ryots have fallen into debts, lost what little property they had, and became beggars..... The British were enabled to follow the policy of "Divide and Rule". They held for the hopes to the poor ryots that they would provide them with food, took them to foreign countries as coolies, reclaimed the country and are enjoying the fruit thereof. There is not the slightest difference between this system of labour and slavery. The white people say that they will not grant the primary rights of man. What wonder is there in that the whitemen who earned money from out of the blood of coolies who emigrated to foreign countries, have conquered the whole world with trade if not with the sword. 'Through their wealth our country has been reduced to poverty. As the country grew poorer and poorer, labour became cheaper. As the number of coolies increased, the whitemen became wealthier; so our poverty was the cause of their prosperity. There is no use blaming the whitemen for our poverty. It is not they that have made

us poor. It is their civilization and their principles of outlay that has brought us to this condition. The causes of this our disease are the decline of spinning wheels and handicrafts and the modern civilization. The remedies lie in giving up foreign cloths and unnecessary foreign articles. This is the firt step in swaraj. England is enjoying self-government only in name. I do not wish for such a Government in India. England is in a wretched plight. She depends upon other countries for her food. It is why it holds three-fourths of the world by the help of the pen or the sword. We do not want such miserable conditions to prevail in India. Let us consider why India was not so poverty- stricken under the Muhammadan rule. Muhammadans came here as rulers, while the English came as merchants. So it was not the object of the Muhammadans to xxx misappropriate the wealth of this country. The British on the other hand looked to their own interests. The Muhhammadans came to India to reside in the country; while the English have been bent upon returning to England as soon as they have finished their work here. The Muhammadans regarded the poverty or prosperity of this country as their own. But the English, from the Collector to the Viceroy, look forward to the time when they may return home after their service here. Such people cannot do any good to the country. Again there is no difference of colour between the Muhammadans and the Indians, and so they did not consider us as brutes and a animals born for their pfofit. Again there is not much difference between their civilization and ours under their rule every village was a swaraj; and the duty of the Central Government was to defend the country. So there was no necessity to employ thousands on salaries amounting to lakhs. The English betray their ignorance by stating that such a Muhammadan Empire was an empire born to collect taxes. The English do not even

understand what is meant by self-government in villages. So they destroyed it. This led to the destruction of panchayats and the construction law courts at a cost of crores of rupees. They had to deprive the village servants of their bread and engage officers receiving salaries, ranging from two to twenty thousands. The remedy for all this is in our hands whatever the Government did, they did with our co-operation. Was there such a large police force as at present in any Government formerly. Are not all the police officers, Indians? If we withhold our co-operation, the disease will go of itself. Non-co-operation is the name of this medicine. Its vehicle is non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi is the Doctor. Renunciation is the diet.

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57. After sketching in detail the resolutions finally adopted by the All India Congress Committee, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th December, proceeds to observe in its leader under this heading:--..

The All-India Congress Committee and the future work.

One can see how short-sighted a policy it is to try to disband the voluntary associations which observe the vow of non-violence in thought, word and deed. We need not say that the work which the volunteers contemplate to accomplish, will greatly help to achieve the wellbeing of the country. Sensible men cannot but feel that this work ought to be taken up even by people other than those who belong to the Congress party. If the Government had, instead of obstructing the programme of the volunteers, adopted it themselves, they would have done much good.

The Ahmedabad Congress and the message of Mr.C.R.Das.

58. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th December, writes:--The Government have shown their narrow heart by arresting Mr.C.R.Das, the President-elect of the Congress, at the present moment. Though he was arrested, they were not able to prevent the Calcutta hartal. Nor were they able to prevent the message of Mr.C.R.Das from reaching the Congress. The arrest of the Congress President will show the real nature of the present administrative system not only to India but to the whole of the civilized world. The authorities by helping to bring about this result, have done great good to the country. The Ahmedabad Congress is swaraj Congress itself. The patriots are also seeing swaraj in jails.

The independence resolution.

59. The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th December, refers to the discussion that took place in the Khilafat Conference with regard to the introduction of the independence resolution, and says:--Whatever may be the facts, it is clear that many representatives were in favour of complete independence. The Government and Britain should take note of this fact. The idea is gaining ground that the country cannot attain its salvation while remaining within the British Empire. Those who are in authority should consider how far it is conducive to the welfare of England to allow such idea to prevail. Even though severe repression is prevailing, Mr.Gandhi is confident that the wishes of India will eventually be fullfilled within the British Empire. It is well for England in view of this to solve the Punjab, Khilafat and swaraj problems at once. Otherwise the party in favour of complete independence/

will grow infleuntial and direct the public opinion. A very critical moment has now been reached in the state of affairs of the British Empire. To retain India within that Empire, England must at once grant the wishes of the Indians. The more they think about it and tarry, the more critical will the condition grow. Time alone will show how England is going to use the present opportunity.

Change of heart.

60. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 29th December, writes:--The Government must understand that it is their primary duty to filfil the wishes of the people if they want to overcome the present critical situation and to arrive at a settlement. If the people's wishes are fulfilled, law and order will easily prevail. How is it possible to arrive at a settlement so long as the Government feel it an offence to organize volunteers associations which try to establish non-violence and to put a stop to the evil habit of drink? When these are decided to be offences can there be anything which is not an offence? When even little meetings are prohibited and those who take part in them, punished, what meaning can there be for the word justice? Lord Reading's speech does not signify any change of heart on the part of the Government. They take even the efforts of the people to protect their primary rights as offences? ~~When even little meetings are prohibited and those who take part in them,~~ Lord Reading has yielded to the bureaucratic conditions, and so he began to oppose even peaceful methods. Even though the policy of repression proved fruitless in Ireland the British are adopting the same thing over again in India and Egypt. England must first change her heart and try to

put a stop to the actions of the Indian Government. Only then will there be ample scope for a Round-table Conference.

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62. The Andhrapatrika, of the 31st December, has the following article from a Correspondent:--

English Rule. It has been nearly two hundred years since the English took possession of this Dominion. They have so long ruled over India without any opposition, ~~stxxhix~~ and teasing (the people). They have cunningly drawn the wealth of our country and strangely taken it to their country. When Mr.Gandhi came and demanded Government (self-Government) they thought long and put the helpless people to suffering, out of grudge. There is no use of their seizing the people. What is ordained by the Creator cannot be escaped. They have renounced foreign cloth and taken to the wearing of Khaddar cloth. Setting their heart upon the service of others, our own people have brought trouble upon us. Deriving authority from the people of a foreign country, they have mercilessly formed schemes and, pointing to section, seized and restrained (the leaders). Thinking that the people will be firghtened and give up their resolution, they arrested patriots and sent them to jail with determination, with a view to do evil to the people. We have got into trouble on account of our own men behaving like this. If our men do not side with others, will not those others go down very soon? Saying sweet words, they came to give evil counsel to the enemies(?) It is the highly educated men that have said (lied) grossly like this for the sake of their offices.

Vesanthalekhalu (Letters of Vasanta).

63. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st December, writes:--The fire-test has begun.....Machine guns are of importance to those materially minded persons who look upon violence and the power of armies as essential and not to us who are the sons of Rishis (sages). Did not a thrill pass through you when you heard the death news of the Mayor of Cork? Were not the great States shaken to their foundations? Has not that thrill, that electric shock, run through your body for at least a moment.......Now our King Emperor George V does not rule our country, nor his Cabinet, nor Mr.Montagu, nor Lord Reading. A lifeless system called the bureaucracy is ruling it. So we now send the following message to our father and King Emperor George V :--

"Though you are our father you are not minding our happiness but giving away all our money for the maintenance of armies. Your merchants are selling spurious goods to us and are carrying away our wealth. By your advertisements of what is called civilization you have made us helpless. Foreseeing that we would realize this at any time and put up a fight, you have disarmed us. You have made us more effiminate than women and reduced us to subjection. The fact that you have thus rendered 30 crores of people useless has proved to be a great injury to humanity. Your Arms Act has become more injurious than the poison gas of the Germans. Poison gas kills but your Acts have emasculated us. The burden of maintaining us has fallen on your head. Ireland, Egypt, Scotland, Africa, Canada and India are like your sons. You should look upon all these sons with equality. Without doing so you have been showing partiality. This is not proper on the part of a father.

You have been giving our money to our brothers. You should stop that, effect division of our share of our money to ~~our~~ hand over our keys to us. Otherwise the sons will forsake their father, and rebell." So have we represented to our father through Mr.Naoroji for forty years. You have been saying with parental concern, "Fie! Begone! You will squander your money and be spoiled. You do not know the art of administration. You have many racial differences and are surrounded by the sea on three sides. Malarial fevers and musquitores may rob you of your wealth," and we have believed it as truth. Though India has passed its minority, though our country is an adopted child of England, though we have shown our capacity, and though we have told them that we will not squander our money, they do not listen to us. They are taking some more adopted sons such as Mesopotamia and Kenya. We tell them that we shall ourselves govern our country, even as Ireland that has passed her minority and that our keys must be handed over to us. This is our position. They will not listen to us and say, "you are still incapable even to open your box. If we hand you over your keys you will fall out among your-selves. Our guardianship is necessary." Now we are all angry with our fahter, and say:--"If you want guardianship go to Mesopotamia or Kenya and gratify your desire. We shall not speak to you until you throw away our keys to us. We shall not see your eldest son. We shall not pray to you. We shall sit passively. Even if you kill us we like it.......If you have failed to enable India to manage her own affairs, you are incapable. Leave her at once to her fate. You have been (Here) for the last 150 years. Famines are increasing but not decreasing. Military expenditure, pensions, imports of cloths and shaved heads in India are on the increase and are not decreasing. So you are not good guardian, and if you do not immediately

hand over our keys to us we shall ourselves leave you.

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64. The Kerala Patrika, of the 31st December, however, points out that the resolutions which in substance demand the severance of the British connexion with India, passed at the last sessions, will kindle the anger of those who love the country and the Crown and those who support these resolutions are the inveterate enemies of the country and hopes that the people will not follow these resolutions, the carrying out of which will involve bloodshed and anarchy, and will not be caught in the net of the Congress and the Khilafat. It also calls upon the people to co-operate with the Government with a view to check the spread of anarchy and Bolshevism in the country.

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65. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 29th December, in the course of an English article under this heading, writes:--......"It is high time that His Majesty the King Emperor should intervene and issue a proclamation which will satisfy all parties, the Government as well as the people. Let all patriots be released. Let swaraj be conceded with such limitations as are necessary to cool down most effectually the boiling human lava from the administrative Everest of India. There will be a magical change for the better. The fair name and fame of the British people and the British Empire should not be allowed to be dragged into the mire. Repression, unqualified repression, has never succeeded and will never succeed.

The supreme need of the hour.

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66. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 4th January, in a communicated English article under this head-line,

Repression.

writes:--"Repressive measures taken by the Government of India have operated as a blunder of the first magnitude. It is the Samiti and the Seditious Meetings Acts that created an unbridgeable gulf-between the Government and the people in India. People of all shades of political opinion have been becoming united. They have begun to fight for the freedom of the press as well as that of the platform. It was a blunder on the part of the Government of India to have passed these odious Acts. The indiscriminate application of these acts not only in places which the Prince visited but also in the places which were not within the programme of his visits, alienated the sympathy of even the moderates who used to endorse every measure taken by the Government for the establishment of law and order. The birthright of an Englishman is the freedom of speech, platform and association. The Government of India has declared that all these are unlawful. They may have their own reasons for it but they have not convinced even moderates that their reasons are sound and that they have been following the policy of the British justice and fair-play. The Government of India stands condemned by both the British and Indian disinterested public opinion. The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should have been marked by universal rejoicings. It has been marked by the repressive policy of returning evil for good in the Anglo-Indian India to-day.

The papers noted in the margin again refer to the policy of repression followed by the Government. The Muslim, of the 22nd December, points out that the wholesale arrests in various parts of India have served to inspire the nationalists with zeal to sacrifice themselves for the country's cause and to open the eyes of the moderates, and that the people are exhibiting their love and respect for their country by steadily following in the footsteps of their leaders who have been confined in jails, and observes that this is an indication that Indians will meet with success in their struggle for freedom.

The Mithavadi, of the 26th December, says:--This awakening of the Government has not come a moment too soon, and every lover of the country hopes that Lord Reading will not stop the new compaign after it has run but for a short time......What Malabar suffers to-day, the whole of India will suffer later on, and we cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Government of India for averting that catastrophe by the inauguration of the new policy, which has been inevitable..... In fact the Government's present policy though it may be characterised as one of repression' by the noisy extremists is really viewed and welcomed as one of prudence by the law-abiding masses.

The Cochinite, of the 20th December, observes:--So long as the Government remains a government, they cannot countenance these things. They have to stop it at any cost. Thus they are now doing; but this, we feel, they should have done earlier.

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69. The Swarat, of the 15th December, makes the following among other observations in its articles on the present war of righteousness' and the most important event':-- That a few fourth-rate men picked up from a total population of only four crores of Englishmen should be able to keep in subjection thirty-four crores of people with a civilization five thousand years old, is due not to the great strength of the English but to the great weakness of Indians is a fact that has now become quite clear.

The present war or righteousness.

We non-co-operate with a system of Government that has become the cause of the deterioration of India and of the unrest of Indians. A repetition of such mean and hasty actions, as the punishment of wearers of khaddar, punishment by exposure to the sun or killing of prisoners by suffocation in closed wagons and innumerable other acts that are being perpetrated by the bureaucracy should be impossible in India in future.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14th JANUARY 1922.

NO. 2 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. Referring to the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress, the West Coast Spectator, of the 3rd January, observes:--"The significance of Mr. Hasrat Mohani's motion for a change in the Congress creed to one of complete independence, free from all foreign control, by all legitimate and peaceful means, is surely not to be underrated, for if it conceded the adoption of only legitimate and peaceful means it was none the less only the thin end of the wedge, which

The National Congress.

at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League, other Muhammadan leaders attempted to drive in more deeply and with much less of an attempt at concealing the lengths to which the extremer Muhammadan party are prepared to go. Mr.Hasrat Mohani's motion at the Congress was, no doubt, rejected but it by no means failed to secure an appreciable measure of support, and, what is more, its failure was notably discounted by the manner in which his motion for the establishment of an Indian Republic was received at the Session of the Muslim League, that immediately followed the Congress Session. In urging this motion Mr.Hasrat Mohani, whose influence is manifestly not less than that of any other extremist Muslim leader, was at no pains at all to conceal his readiness to abandon non-violent methods in favour of war-like measures, such as the guerilla tactics with which the rebellious Mappillas of Ernad have already made us disagreeably familiar. This motion too was rejected, but only by a small majority, and the indications undoubtedly are that, in the Muslim camp, the party who favour violence and downright revolution are steadily gaining the ascendancy, so that it is pertinent to ask how much longer will Mr.Gandhi and the Congress, with their non-violent methods, which more and more of their Muslim friends are ridiculing as childish, be able to restrain the forces of disruption and open, aggressive revolt. Of course, Mr.Gandhi and his Congress friends ought not to feel surprised at the turn which events are taking, for Muslim leaders, long before to-day, had made no secret of their deliberate determination to break from the Congress and strike out on their own path to independence, if Mr.Gandhi failed to give them swaraj by a certain date and, of course, along with swaraj a settlement, satisfactory to themselves, of the whole Khalifat question. Indeed, Ahmedabad has made it more clear than ever that what the Muslim League and the bulk of the

Muhammadan community, who swear by the League, are out for is pan-Islamism first, with the welfare of India as merely an incidental and sub-ordinate consideration. There is no getting away from this, and Malaber has surely convinced all, who are not beyond conviction, that Mr.Gandhi's views on Hindu-Muslim unity are by no means identical with those held by Muhammadan leaders of the school of Mr.Hasrat Mohani."

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His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

2. Justice of the 13th January, writes:--"The disappointment of the non-co-operators must have been heavy indeed this morning. It was such a splendid reception that the loyal citizens of Madras accoreded to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Harbour and all along the route from there to the Government House....... There were no doubt a few policemen about, but they appeared to be more intent on warning pedestrains and people in cars and carriages against the danger of proceeding along the way than on putting down this goodaism in open day light, of the hartal-mongers."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.---HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(c) Jails.

The political prisoners in jail.

8. Quoting the words of Mr.Frederick Harrison, an English expert, that political prisoners should not be treated and punished like ordinary ones because the former honestly believe that they are acting in the interests of the public, the Swadesamitran, of the 7th January, refers to this principle being followed in England and other civilized countries and observes:--A majority of those who have been convicted for political reasons transgressed such laws and orders as they whole-heartedly deemed to be prejudicial to their ordinary rights and entered prison offering no defence in accordance with the principles of the non-co-operation movement. If, in spite of this, they are treated so badly, it must be due to several bureaucrats sharing the view of the District Magistrate of Faridput who seems to have expressed to Doctor Maitra that such offenders would be deemed to be blackguards in England. Though the non-co-operators, who enter prison voluntarily, deeming it to be a service rendered to the country, may not complain of any bad treatment, we are bound to warn the Government that such treatment will increase the distrust of the people towards them and make the Government the laughing-stock of the world. Further, the situation will become more complicated by such acts and the way to a compromise will be impeded. So, will the Government of India pay immediate attention to this matter and issue instructions to all the Provincial Governments to accord to political prisoners the same treatment as is accorded in civilized countries?

(d) Education.

9. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 31st December, referring to the serious interruption caused to the education of Muhammadans by the present political movements and especially by the desire of the Muslim public for the attainment of swaraj, remakrs that it will produce a fatal and poisonous effect to take part in politics. They should apply themselves exclusively to their studies, and have nothing to do with other matters. They should regard the attainment of knowledge as the attainment of swaraj, and unless they are thorough in their studies, they cannot aspire to swaraj.

Education.

The writer considering the facilities afforded to students by the Government of Madras in imparting instructions gratis in primary schools for a fee of a few annas, and the cheap prices at which books are available, asks if the students should even now neglect their studies and fretter away their time in politics, they cannot become fit for self-government or for an equal share with the Hindus in swraj.

(e) Local and Municipal.

The message of the Chirala leader.

10. Writing in connexion with the message given by Mr. D.Gopalakrishnayya to the Chirala people and communicated to them through Mr.S.Sreenivasa Ayyangar who interviewed him in the Trichinipoly jail, the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th January, observes:--The firmness, the self-sacrifice and the courage which the Chirala people have shown for the sake of protecting dharma, have drawn the attention of the whole of India. Chirala shared the way to other countires in this respect. If the people have behaved with the same spirit of union in every village, the country would have attained its salvation by vow. If Chirala attains success, the Andhra country and through it, the whole of India will succeed. The perverse attitude of the Ministers towards the Chirala question has greatly helped to spread the idea that the reforms are violating the independence of the people. In order that the innumerable hardships of the people may be removed, the system of Government must be changed and room made for swaraj. The country as a whole is working with perseverance for this end. If Chirala also works without giving up its vow till swaraj is established, it will win the gratitude of the whole of India. May Chirala maintain its reputation!

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xxx (k) General.

The death of prisoners in train.

11. Remarking that it is a fact known all over the world that the English are, on the strength of their being the rulers, mercilessly treating the Indians like beasts and are countenancing racial differences without the least regard for justice and equity, the Swayatchi Bodhini, of the 1st December, refers to the condemnation, by the Daily Mail of London, of a number of Mappilla prisoners having met with death in train and especially to the observation of that paper that this tragedy will make the Indians accuse the British of having committed an offence far more heinous than the massacre in the Black Hole of Calcutta, and says:--The object of this paper in pointing to the Black Hole incident is to create the impression that the massacre of the Englishmen, who came to this country to earn their licing, was more serious than the present incident. Perhaps, the editor of this paper is not aware of how, on account of the fact of these whites having deceived the Indians by their wily tricks becoming known throughout the western countries, this clever news about Englishmen having been unjustly thrown into a dark room and killed was invented to check the spread of this impression immediately and create a feeling of hatred against the Indian Chiefs.

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12. The Vartakamitran, of the 11th December, publishes also a communication from a correspondent who refers to arrests of certain respectable women at Calcutta and expressing his satisfaction at the authorities giving vent to their wrath in various ways but with no effect, adds:--History points to the fact that no Government has survived which began to arrest women. Again, no movement in which ladies take part will ever die. South Africa, Russia and Ireland furnish instances of this. The honour and the good fortune that have fallen to the share of the family of Mr.C.R.Das are indeed worthy of appreciation. This is the last act of madness on the part of the authorities and the present system of administration is sure to die soon. I cannot bear to see the condition in the Tamil land. Should the authorities act high-handedly so as to wound our feelings, it is neither our duty nor is it manliness on our part to patiently put up with them, and it is a great sin on our part to give life to a system of administration that is not liked by the people. At this juncture, those having true faith in their religion should come forward to make sacrifices. We should struggle hard to save our Congress and our honour from being destroyed by the authorities puffed up with the pride of power.

The Bharata Christava Vartamani, of the 17th December, remakrs that the present situation in India gives room for great anxiety and, while observing that endless michief has been caused to the country by the non.co-operation movement, adds that, as the repressive measures at present adopted by the Government to put down this mischief will only increase the confusion caused by the movement, the best method of easing the present situation is to hold a Conference of political leaders.

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Referring to this subject, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 5th January, in an English article observes:--......We hope the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and dictators will cooly consider whether it is not desirable to adopt a policy of Live and let Live". The British Government and the Government of India should lose no time in making it possible for the Round-table Conference to come in. They should not shut the door on peace. Considerations of false prestige should not induce them to rush upon destruction. True prestige consists in acknowledging faults and making amends for them. Lord Reading and Messrs.Montagu and Lloyd George are responsible for the present situation, and if they fail to evolve order out of the present chaos, their names will go down to posterity as the names of people with little or no pretensions for foresight and commonsense.

The present situation.

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14. Observing in a note under this heading, that, if one of two persons carrying on a discussion resorts to abuse or begins to strike the other, it is a clear indication of his defeat, the Vartakamitran, of the 18th December, says:--Till now, the bureaucracy strove to meet injustice with justice, but now that they have let loose the forces of violence in opposition to non-violence, they have thereby attempted to threaten the people and the meaning of their act is that they have descended one step lower than human nature. Is it not clear from this that it is success for the satyagraha non-co-operators? Relying on the higher characteristics of man the non-co-operators based their fighting till now on love but they have hereafter to wage war against his lower nature.

The inner significance of repression.

15. Remarking that it is no use on the part of the vakils of Madras to have merely protested against the repressive measures said to be adopted throughout the land, as it is only non-association with a thing which is considered to be evil that will show the genuineness of one's opinion on the matter, the Vartakamitran, of the 18th December, observes:--What are the vakils going to do if the Government do not relax their repression? If they suspend their practice for at least one year, it is certain that the foundations of the Government of Madras will begin to shake. But, can so much of sacrifice be expected from them?

The vakils of Madras and repression.

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16. In the course of a leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 4th January, reiterates the grounds on which the Congress has issued its mandate and observes:--The people have no grievance at all against the Prince except that his visit serves a purpose of the bureaucracy. Our Emperor King George is personally aware of the fact that the love which Indians have for the royal family since the days of Queen Victoria is unbounded. So, the fact of the people having to boycott the visit of the Prince should only make the Emperor, his Ministers, the Parliament and the British public come forward to redress the political grievances of the Indians and not bear a grudge against the latter. They should deem this boycott to be a great warning. The other provinces have boycotted the Royal visit effectively and if this ancient province fails to take any interest in the boycott, it will well deserve the name of a benighted province'. We hope that our friends will not give ro m for this.

The visit of the Prince of Wales.

N.C.S. 16. Referring to the visit of the Prince of Wales, the Navasakti, of the 6th January, says:--Participating in the welcome will amount to siding with the bureaucratic policy of administration that torments us in many ways. The Prince will become aware of the rottenness of the bureaucracy only if we apprise him of our grief during his visit. The power of the bureaucratic sway is now at its zenith and its severity has not abated. Day by day, it is getting more and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ determined to controllus by means of repressive measure. Needless to say that, at a time when patriots are carrying on the war of non-co-operation intent on putting an end to such a system of administration, it behoves every self-respecting Indian to boycott the visit of the Prince who comes as a guest of the deities presiding over this system. Is it proper on our part to participate in the welcome arranged by a bureaucracy that created the Rowlatt Act against the unanimous wish of the people, that was the author of the Punjab massacre, that has not yet meted out justice therefor, that has not chosen to punish the villians that perpetrated the massacre, that has not consented to render justice in the case of the Khilafat and that is unhesitatingly casting into prison, opulent and saintly patriots who are the embodiments of sacrifice? Where are our bold and valiant heroes like the Ali brothers now? Are they not in prison, foregoing all the comforts and pleasures and partaking of jail diet. Are we to witness a festival got up by the bureaucracy which sent these saints to jail? Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar has begun to do the work of the bureaucracy and Mr.Tanikachalam Chettiyar helps him here. We would ask both of them what weight the Government of Lord Willingdon attached to their words in regard to the Puliyantope disturbances. There are two kinds of volunteers now busy in Madras, one set of them imploring the public to keep shops

open and participatex in the welcome to the Prince and the other requesting the' to observe hartal. We rejoice to hear, however, that, even without any special request, many people in Madras are determined to observe a hartal. Can the public forget the Punjab massacre, the Khilafat and the incarceration of patriots. They can never do so and will certainly do their duty. O brothers and sisters of the Tamil land! Our Mother Bharata is weeping bitterly, as she has no food, clothing or rights. The leaders of the country are in prison only to provide her with all these things. And you too are in jail like them and Friday next willput you in mind of this. Spend your time that day like the inmates of prison.

Infr. 18. Referring to the statement in a Ceylon paper that Dr.Mani Lal was ordered by that Government to leave Ceylon by the 9th January, because he reviled the secret Police there, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th idem observes:--We have no reason to believe that Dr.Mani Lal is capable of committing such a mean act. But, even supposing that he did so, is externment the punishment therefor? Are not ordinary laws in force in Ceylon? But we do not know as yet what the secret of this affair is. If the constant profession of the Government of India that they are very much interested in safeguarding the rights of the Indians is true, will they ascertain the real cause of Dr,Mani Lal's externment and publish the same?

Dr.Mani Lal.

N.C.S.19. Remarking that the Provincial Governments are resorting to many novel ways for crushing the non-co-operation movement, the Swadesamitran, of the 7th January, refers to a recent order of the Punjab Government prohibiting all pensioners, on pain of losing their pension, from lecturing on, or taking any part in, the movement of civil disobedience and pointing out that pensions are granted to Government servants only as a reward for their long, faithful and loyal service, and not for selling away their conscience to Government, observes:-- The Government may think that, by adopting these means, they can draw away a section of the people from the non-co-operation movement. But there is no doubt that they will get disappointed in the end.

The non-co-operation movement and the authorities.

Cong. 20. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st December, says in its leader:-- Though the English understand the heart of the people, they do not evince an interest in carrying out their wishes. They think that they can subjugate them by cajoling, warning, and punishing them and by dividing them. The awakening of the people is divenely wonderful. India is working with a determination to attain independence by holy means. This determination has been confirmed in the Ahmedabad Congress. The Ahmedabad Congress has understood that the people have got the power to make rulers repent and settle the Indian problem. The firm determination of the people who are characterised by righteousness is bound to succeed. Even England will not withhold the grant of swaraj till the very

Swaraj Congress.

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very last. If she wishes to maintain her reputation, she cannot but grant the wishes of the people.

N.C.S.20. The swaraj Congress.

In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th January, refers to the success of the non-co-operation program already attained and to the definite steps taken by the recent Ahmedabad Congress to further that movement, and observes:--During the last three months the people took to civil disobedience and fearlessly went into the jails, thus showing their fitness for swaraj. Whatever may be the suspicions of the people to ascend the last rung of the non-co-operation ladder, nobody will have any objection to disobey laws which are against human dharma. The Ahmedabad Congress has determined the principle of civil disobedience and has shown the way to follow it. It has created a great confusion in the minds of the bureaucracy. ~~It has created a great confusion in the minds of the bureaucracy.~~ It has a wakened the moderate leaders. It has brought the experience of swaraj nearer the minds of the people. The bureaucrac is trying to arrive at a settlement with the non-co-operation leaders. Mr.Gandhi is determined to carry out the message of the National Congress. Under these circumstances, the immediate attainment of swaraj will depend upon the amount of sacrifice shown by the people.

M.L. 21. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st December, refers to the suggestion of Mr.Mohani that India should necessarily have complete independence, remarks:--

All-India Muslim League Conference.

It will be well for the British Cabinet to note this with respect and settle the Indian question at once in a way satisfactory to the people. There is no use of regretting after they let slip the opportunity.

Genl. 22. The Andhrapatrika, of the 31st December, refers to the resolution of the moderate conference on repression by the Government, and remarks:--The conference desires the Government to reconsider their policy..... The All-India Christian Conference have passed resolutions more liberal than those of the moderate confernence. The enthusiasm shown by the Christian conference is an illustration of the new national awakening. It is plain that the moderates are moving in the old grooves without nothing this new awakening.

The moderate conference.

Col. 23. In a leaderette under this heading, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 30th December, says:--The Indians are being sent on board the ships to their native land under the pretext of voluntary repatriation. The present prosperity of South Africa is due to the hard service rendered by the Indians. Under such circumstances, the world will see how the whitemen in South Africa can maintain their prosperity by teasing the Indians with the pride of power.

The Indians in South Africa.

N.C.S. 24. The Nyaya Dipika, of the 30th December, contains an article (perhaps from the pen of a correspondent) under this heading to the following effect:--Though many Englishmen are of opinion that the agitation in this country is just, the Government think it their duty to vindicate their own policy. By its non-violent nature the non-co-operation movement is strangling the neck of the Government, and so the latter are opposing it. Under such circumstances there can be no room for peace. The people are working with a spirit of vengeance and the English are by the adoption of a policy of repression are encouraging this spirit. Repression can only throw the country into commotion and there is no hope of the agitation seeing its end.

The vengeance of the English.

S.R. 25. The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th December, says under this heading: --It is not honourable to keep silent till the situation in the dependant countries reaches a crisis. Itx will be wise for England to learn a lesson from the experience gained in some countries and make haste in others. Lord Reading who often speaks of the maintenance of justice, law and order and vindicates his policy of repression will do well to peruse the remakks make by Lord Morley about Ireland. As pointed out by Lord Morley the repressive measures cannot but fail. It can be seen from foreign telegrams that the papers in England do not think deeply about the present Indian situation. It will be advantageous if England understand at least now that no party in India is satisfied with the political reforms. The desire for complete independence has cropped up in the country; but by the strength of control

The duty of England.

exercised by Mahatma Gandhi, no resolution was passed upon it. It will be well for England to accomplish its duty to India before it is too late.

Genl. 26. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th December, says:--When such gentlemen as Sir P.C.Ray attach so much importance to the spinning wheel and preach the adoption of swadeshi vow to their countrymen, it is needless to say that it is ridiculous on the part of the Madras Ministers and their party to reject the spinning wheel as useless.

The spinning wheel and Sir P.C.Ray.

The President of the Madras Co-Operative Conference held recently in Madras has stated that the Co-Operative department in Bombay have issued orders to ascertain how the spinning wheels and handlooms can be used with profit to the people. From this one can understand what a gulf of difference there is between the views of the authorities in the Province of Madras and those in the Bombay Presidency. The mere fact that the non-co-operators have dwelt upon the importance of the spinning wheel does not make the co-operators in other Provinces make a point of rejecting it. In the Co-operative Conference held at Madras a resolution was passed to the effect that the Co-operative department should be requested to encourage the industries of handspinning and handweaving among the co-operators. It is not possible to guess that our Government will approve of this resolution.

Genl. 27. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th December, says:-- We are gratified to see that (in Madras many are enlisting themselves as Congress Voounteers in pursuance of the Congress resolution. The City of Madras has given up its indolence and has undertaken to serve the country. Under the leadership of such gentlemen as Mr. S.Srinivasa Ayyanger, the movement is bound to be succeeded. It is plain that in the attainment of swaraj, Madras will not lack behind the other places.)

A meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

R.T.C. 28. Mahatma Gandhi has asmuch regard for justice as Lord ~~[illegible]~~ Reading. The Mahatma has said that if Lord Reading is really in earnest about the Round-table Conference, the Congress resolution affords scope. But if (he is) actuated by an evil intention, Mahatma has stated that there will not be a possibility for a Round table Conference. So, it is not true to say that Mahatma Gandhi is standing in the way of a Round table Conference. It is only Lord Reading that has prevented (its formation). He would not put a stop to his repressive measures. He would not show a repentant mind. India is not going to beg for any figts at any conference... There is manifest in the Congress resolution. The confidence that the Government can be brought on the right path, if not-to-day, at least to-morrow. It also shows to the Government that they should not profit the friendship of the 35 crores of Indians.

Mahatma will snatch the earliest opportunity to enter into a compromise, as soon as the angle of vision of the Government is changed and, favourable condit ons arise...... Mahatma does not like the idea of entering into an indignified

compromise. Mr.Malavya, though a moderate, has not only opposeed the order of the Government regarding volunteer corps, but has also admitted that, in case the Government does not revoke it, it is just for the volunteers to transgress the same and to to prision. From this it can be understood how unjust was the order (of the Government), prohibiting the formation of volunteer corps. Not merely the nationalists but even the moderates cannot justify this order. It is certain that the volunteers, by infringing it and going to good, are only protecting their primary rights. The Congress resolution is only encouraging the people to protect their primary rights. No kind-hearted person can object to this resolution.

P.P. 30. Under this heading, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th December, writes from Central Jail, Rajahmundry.Rajahmundry:--We learn that the Central Jail is full, and that it is under contemplation to put up a tent therein temporarily and make the prisoners lie down during nights, fettered to each other's legs and fastened to posts. It is not possible to describe how difficult the prisoners would feel to ease themselves. It is not yet known definitely, whether the jail authorities are having recourse to such inhuman acts. Any way, strong rumours are afloat here regarding this. It will be good if the Government or the Jail authorites state how far it is true.

S.R. 34. In its leader under this heading, the Godavaripatrika, of the 27th December, discusses the question as to who is responsible for the present critical situation in India and says:--The bureaucracy and not the people are responsible for the present unrest........Why could not the Government of India report to the Secretary of State that the people of India are not satisfied with the reforms and request him to revise them without waiting for ten years to know the results........The present hartals are due to the Government disregarding popular opinion and inviting His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at an inopportune time....... From time immemorial people have been transgressing just laws and so we don't see anything wrong in respectable people violating unjust laws for the sake of the country. Hitherto offenders against law violated it out of selfish motives but at present disinterested people have been going to the jail violating laws which they consider to be injurious to the country. May the authorities note this difference and do justice to the people?

Who is responsible?

N.C.S. 35. The Kistnapatrika, of the 24th December, publishes under this heading the letter of resignation of the village munsif and the karnam of Dosakayapalli, Rajahmundry taluk, in which they state that it is a great sin to be in the service of this Government, which does not discriminate between justice and injustice and respect the traditional Hindu dharmas.

Resignation of village officers.

N.C.S. 36. Under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 24th December, publishes a letter from the pen of a correspondent in which it is stated to the following effect:--

Village officers.x

Though the Government have been slighting us we have been sending representations to them. They have begun to violate our rights. Some village officers have been removed for having shown hospitality to guests, for not being present in co-operative meetings, and for such other reasons........The villate officers have awakened and adopted the resolution for freeing themselves from servitude.

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39. Under this heading, Hitakarini, of the 19th December, writes:--........The resignations of the village officers proclaimx ~~ofxthexvillagexofficersxproclaim~~ that they are freeing themselves from servitude and are teaching a lesson to other provinces, that the present administrative machinery will not be moved, until the village administration is broken up.........We congratulate the village officers of the Andhraprovince upon their having set an example by freeing themselves from servitude.

The progress in the Andhra country.

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40. Referring in an article under this heading to the resolution on loyalty moved by the Hon'ble Mr.Ramarayaningar in the recent session of the Legislative Council, the Hitakarini, of the 19th December, observes to the following effect:--........We cannot understand why the loyalty of the members of the local boards has been called in question now.......

Madras Legislative Council and loyalty resolution.

The moving of this resolution without any need clearly causes an agitation in the minds of the people....... Loyalty, devotion and fidelity must ~~xxxxxxxx~~ originate spontaneously in the hearts of the people and cannot be forced.......Some say that there is no occasion for the introduction of the Bill; but that the Minister has introduced it without discretion........We hold quite another view. Non-co-operators will be unwilling to take the oath and will be excluded from the local bodies, which will be filled by nominated members, who side with the Government, so that administration may be carried on arbitrarily . We have grounds for this surmise........ In local bodies, such as the Lahore and the Ahmadabad Municipal Councils, there are a good many non-co-operators, who seek to do things in accordance with the wishes of the people, setting at naught official opposition..........It will be not out of place for us to make the following suggestion to the Government. No person that is not loyal cannot be safely allowed to remain in the country. A definition of the term loyalty must be given, and those, who do not possess it, may be turned out of the country. A stamp may be imprinted upon the foreheads of those who are loyal to distinguish from those that are not, such as is done on the hips of the horses and the buffaloes of the zamindars and big ryots to distinguish them from those of ~~xxxxx~~ others. ....This opposition that the Minister has introduced this Bill without discretion and that the Government may accept it without far-sightedness is unfounded......

Genl. 41. Referring to the resolution passed by the Local Legislative Council recommending the introduction of Permanent Revenue Settlement, the Ryotpatrika, of the 18th December, points to the vote of the Ministers in the matter as a proof of their love for the people. Remarks such as the following occur in the course of the article:-- It has been the practice to raise the land assessment at every fresh settlement. This has been a great hardship to the ryot. In addition to this land assessment, the road-cess and railway-cess are sucking the blood of the ryots. The Public Works Department subordinates are exacting bribes in the name of 'manuals' and supplies. Under the British Government the ryot is gradually declining and not flourishing. The country in which the ryot is not prosperous can never have any peace. That Government which does not consider the hardships of the ryots as its own and endeavour to remedy them, is demaned for ever.

Permanent Revenue Settlement.

N.C.S. 43. Under this heading, the Ryotpatrika, of the 18th December, says:--The Hindus have no greater duty than to protect the modesty of women. Do not the English people know this? Does not Lord Reading know it? Knowing it, they have arrested the innocent wife of Mr.C.R.Das without foreseeing the consequences. This single act has done more to infuse enthusiasm in the minds of the non-co-operators and to give them fresh strength than the exciting and audacious words of a thousand Mahtmas. The fact that the wife of so great a leader as Mr. C.R.Das has not escaped such a humiliation has engendered in the minds of the people the fear that the honour of no Indian woman is free from danger. Ever since the new movement

Who is partial to the non-co-operation movement? Is it Mr. Gandhi or Lord Reading?

was started Lord Reading has done more to help it than its propagandanists by this single act. Why does Lord Reading stoop to do such acts which are opposed to high statesmanship? He is of course aware of the result of repression in Ireland. That in spire of such knowledge, he should pursue a policy of repression here leads us to entertain doubts about the greatness of his intellect. If unrest in the country is to be removed and peace established, the Government should sympathise with the aspirations of the people and help to advance their interests. To send, to prison even eminent women is a perverse act.

The Guntur District Congress Committee.

45. Under this heading, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th January, says:-- Until the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee meets the ryots in the Guntur district should suspend the payment of land revenue. It is satisfactory that the karnams and munsifs of some villages have resigned their offices. I hope that the rest of the village officers also will tender their resignation.

The civil guards.

E.I. 48. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 5th January, refers to this topic and writes:--If the Government permit the Europeans to retain civil guards to-day, they cannot avoid granting the same privilege to the Indians to-morrow. It is better that Government withdraw this privilege granted to the Europeans. Government should, under no circumstances, show partiality to any community. If such partiality be shown, distress is sure to result therefrom.

Genl. 49. Thousands of volunteers have come forward to take the ~~plxxexofxhundxexxxofxthxxx~~ place of hundreds of those that have been sent to prison .. It would be well if Government cancel the order declaring the volunteer movement to be unlawful. Is it not a misfortune that Government have not done so merely because such an action on their part would lower their prestige? The continuance of repression by Government in this way would only make them more and more involved and would only make them resort to more and more repression, just in the same way as a gambler, who has lost his all, goes in for a fresh bid with the idea of gettingback the money he has lost by gambling and only adds to his loss.

N.B. 50. Referring to the New Year Honours' list issued by Government, the Swadesabhimani, of the 6th January, in a short note writes:--It must be said that the misfortune of this country has not yet ceased in view of the fact that though on the one side, people are coming forward to relinquish their titles, on the other people eager to accept these worthless titles are also not wanting. But one and all have realised that a title-holder can only further his self-interest and cannot do an iota of service to his country. Looking to the fact that Mr.Mensinkai of Dharwar, who has earned everlasting noteriety by his autocratic behaviour and hatred for Brahmans, has been made a Diwan Bahadur, we are at a loss to know what these titles really mean. It was originally intended that these titles should be conferred on people who worked for the good of the public. But a glance at the lengthy Honours' list of this year compels us to conclude that many a nobody has been given titles though he has done absolutely no good to the people.

The New Year's Honours.

Genl. 51. The Kanthirava, of the 3rd January, publishes the following as a soliloquy of Lord Reading:--What a misfortune. Though I proclaimed many a time that I would establish justice in this country, I am only ~~treding~~ treading the path of repression in all its rigour. The more I send people to prison, the more they are coming to the front. Where are the prisons to accommodate all these people? Every student knows that the use of force is fuitile in political matters. What I am to do now? Even the moderates, who, I thought, would stand by me, have changed their attitude. Even the 'Leader' has begun to decry our policy. Of course, that old woman is still lending me her helping hand, but what use? Many advised me that disorders would surely result if Mr.Gandhi were apprehended. But that non-co-operation would come to an end if the other leaders should be incarcerated. The result, however, has been quiet the reverse. I hear the cry 'Gandhi-ki-jai' from Assam to Tinnevelly. He is indeed a wonderful person. The understanding effected with the moderates seems to be futile. They have ascribed all the blame to us. They demand home-rule for all the provinces. They blame me for having not held fast to my promise that the period of ten years fixed by the Parliament would be reduced.... If my present policy brings confusion and disorder in its train, my enemies would criticise me as wanting in discretion in matters political, though I am an advocate and a judge of a very high order. I have had recourse to repression with the object of curbing the non-co-operation movement. But history has taught us quite a different lesson. No movement has been curbed by repression. Repression tends only to increase its intensity. Though I have studied the Irish problem, I am sorry to say that I have not made use of that knowledge here.......Can any one enlighten

A soliloquy.

me as regards the meaning of the popular cry Gandhi-ki-jai? This cry is instinctive and not at all forced upon the people. The people of this country follow Gandhi just in the same way as the Englishman followed Mr.Gladstone in 1880-1885......What is past is past. I cannot retrace my steps. I shall hold fast to this policy to the very end. I do not care for the result so long as I have a supporter in Mr.Lloyd Geroge.........The people have resolved to remove this foreign Government. I shall spare no pains in putting down by enemies.

Cong.

The Indian National Congress.

52. The Malaber Islam, of the 6th January, says that nobody can now deny that the Congress is a body representing the people and that the success of this Congress was due to the realization by the people of the fact that the country should, at any cost, be liberated from the hands of the bureaucracy. It points out that the present aim of the Congress is to obtain self-government to India subject to the British control or otherwise, hopes that the British Government will take notice of the fact that a section of the people even think of resorting to violence if necessary as evidenced by Hazarat Mohani's resolution, and observes:--"When Ireland was prepared to be content with Home Rule, the British Government, without granting it, aroused the Sinn Feiners. We have to wait and see whether their experience will or will not help them to take such precautions as are necessary in order to avoid a similar occurrence in India."

The Manorama, of the 3rd January, points out that a perusal of the proceedings of the Congress and Conferences held during the Christmas week as well as of the speeches

delivered therein, shows that Indians of all shades of opinion without any distinction of caste or creed think that there should be a thorough change in the administrative machinery of India, but rejoices that none of these associations is of opinion that Indian should get complete self-government or that the British connection should be severed.

P.P. 55. The Qaumi Report, of the 29th December, has a sub-leader on the subject in which the writer says:--We wrote a few days ago that the Government of Bihar and Orissa had issued orders directing the Jail authorities to accord such treatment to political prisoners as is accorded to European prisoners.

Treatment of Political Prisoners.

But neither the Madras Government nor the Madras Legislative Council have directed their attention to the matter.

The writer thinks that the Members of the Legislative Council are powerless. If that is the reason, they cannot be the representatives of people, and hence they should resign.

Nominal Justice.

The writer observes that the justice of the present Government is a nominal one, and in support of the statement gives the following as an example:--

On the 24th December Abdul Wahab Sahib and Srimat Ramaswami Ayyar were charged with the infringement of section 144. On conviction, the former was given six months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs.100, whereas the latter was sentenced to only one months's simple imprisonment with a similar fine.

The writer asks the readers of the paper to observe the difference in the punishments for the same offence committed in the same place, and at the same time. Possibly this is intended to weaken Hindu-Muslim concord which is founded on a strong basis, and therefore difficult to break.

For the week ending 21st January 1922.

NO. 3 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.-- HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

N.C.S. 1. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 4th January, writes:--"It will be idle to pretend that the New Year brings with it a more cheery outlook for India than the old. Non-co-operation has dropped its mask and stands revealed as Bolshevism, pure and simple. The National Congress as it calls itself has declared a fight to the finish wit the British Government. No amount of camouflaging by Mr.Gandhi of its true character can deceive any one into believing otherwise than that the Congress creed is one of active hostility to the established Government on the one hand, and of intimidation and violence to those among the people who will not subscribe to it. ..... The situation in India is of Mr.Montagu's making; there can be no denying that and he cannot be reasonably trusted to unmake it. It is beyond his powers even if he became alive now to the truth that his reforms failed of their intended effect and all his bid for a calm atmosphere has gone for nothing... We fear there has been a deliberate and steady doctoring of

The present political situation.

news regarding the situation here, and the British public have not seem to be properly posted up in respect of the Indian~~Indian~~ situation........The only streak of hope in an otherwise gloomy prospect is that the British public are at last awaking to the truth that the blundering policy of Mr.Montagu has made it possible for the non-co-operator to being about a situation which is not far removed from anarchy. The awaking must compel the Secretary of State to reverse his policy and combat non-co-operation relentlessly and steadily. That is the only way of saving India from the red ruin which is impending."

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

2. The Hindu, of the 15th January, writes:--"We publish elsewhere a full account of the happenings in the city on the day of arrival of the Prince. The reception which was given by the public was, as we had anticipated, in keeping with the keen political sense and national awakening which the Madras pwople share with their fellow countrymen all over India. The mandate of the National Congress to observe hartal on the day of the Prince's arrival was carried out with remarkable thoroughness. Madras is a city of long distances having various suburban centres. It was quite remarkable how even in the remotest parts of the city even petty bazaars where vegetables are sold were closed........The work done by the national volunteers in the matter of closing all business bore abundant fruit. The hartal was even more universal and telling than that which took place on the Satyagraha day two years ago. Public satisfaction would have been profound and unclouded at this result of the work of the non-co-operation movement, considerably aided~~xx~~ as it was by the intelligence and patriotism of the people but for

some acts of violence and molestation which were resorted to in various parts of the city by men and young boys belonging to the rowdy elements of the community."

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Referring to the hartal on the day of the Prince's arrival in Madras, Swarajya, of the 15th January, observes:--"To our shame be it said that Madras has failed, egregiously failed. A day which should have demonstrated to the world the strength and purity of our movement, has only ended in our shame and humiliation. The occurrences of that day admit of no excuse or palliation. We would be dishonest indeed if we deny our defeat. A hartal is no mere closure of shops. It is an expression of our soul-force, a measure of our self-discipline. It loses all its value if it is tainted with compulsion or violence of any kind. The first condition ofa hartal is that it should be absolutely voluntary....... If those of our countrymen who wished to welcome the Prince, had been left unmolested, we would have gone one step nearer to swaraj. But as it is, the good work of the last fifteen months has been to some part at least undone. It is abundantly clear that we have not yet broughtunder control the unruly element in our city. .... It is useless to try to plead provocation. If provocation has this effect after one year of training in non-co-operation, it does little credit to us. Provocation or no provocation, the conduct of the hooligans on Friday last was a disgrace to our city. Until the unruly element is completely mastered, non-co-operation has no chance of success."

Justice, of the 17th January, has the following:-- "Writing on 'the hartal,' the Hindu says that 'the mandate

of the National Congress to observe hartal on the day of the Prince's arrival was carried out with remarkable thoroughness. The Swarajya, on the other hand, makes a clean confession of the fact that a day which should have demonstrated to the world the strength and purity of our movement has only ended in our shame and humiliatio n.' Our contemporary adds that 'the occurrences of that day admit of no excuse or palliation, and that we would be dishonest indeed if we dany our defeat.' We do not know what exactly are the motives inspiring these two different versions of the incidents that transpired on Friday last. The Swarajya seems to be imitating, the Mahatma after the Bombay disturbances when it writes of humiliation, disgrace and so forth; for it will be remembered that Mr. Gandhi, with a view to impress the outside world with the saintliness of his character and sincerity of his motives, made a similar confession on that occasion. The Hindu has, however, no pompous pretensions of that kind, and it is more intent, as ever it has been, to misrepresent facts and thus seek to hoodwink the outside public into believing that it has considerable influence with our people and that the latter are solely guided in their actions and conduct by its precious lucubrations. On no other ground can be expxxxxx explained this gross preversion of facts by our Mount Road contemporary. The hartal, as every citizenx of Madras knows, was a miserable failure, in spite of all the dubious and devious tactics resorted to by the non-co-operators. Therex was, of course, the closing of shops, but no amount of quibbling and hari-splitting arguments by people of the Hindu's political persuasion can hide the fact that it is sheer intimidation and terrorism practised by hired hooligans that brought about a closure of most of the shops in the city."

The following appears in the Hindu, of the 17th

17th January:--"In explaining the object of his visit, the ~~Prince of Wales said, he~~ Prince of Wales said, he had come to learn something of the country and to understand its problems. He is nearing the end of his Indian tour and that aspiration still remains unfulfilled. He came, he saw and according to the bureaucracy and the inspired press, the conquered, he certainly did not learn........He has been five days in the city of Madras, attended a number of functions divided between amusement and formalism and will to night depart in a blaze of glory and-fireworks. So far as we are aware he has made no attempt, or more accurarely was allowed to make no attempt, at realising the wish of his heart. He has not granted interviews to a single leader of eminence, not even to the President of the Corporation. Polo and racing doubtless kept him too busy but a spare half-hour might have been found during which he might have imbibed tabloid wisdom from some nonentity of eminence........If the visit of the Prince to this land need a memorial, on it will be writ large the words: "He came, he saw and he went."

P.A. 3. The Hindu, of the 17th January, has the following:--

The release of Sikh prisoners.

"The release of Sikh prisoners and the final withdrawal from the Golden Temple affair are fresh sign posts that reveal the non-plussed mind of the Punjab Government; It was a huge blunder to have roused the religious wrath of a spirited community, but instead of making amends at the earliest chance the Punjab Government worsened the matter by calling to aid the Seditious Meetings Act. While false pride thus landed the authorities in an inconvenient situation, the Sikhs, by their united stand and firmness, made them realise what a Tartar they had caught. It was a foolish job from the beginning for Government, but the retreat now announced

is certainly better. The Government has endeavoured in its wonted tone a blazon the incident as a vicyory for itself and as a new guarantee of its long-cherished good intentions towards the Sikh community.......To create trouble and, when things grow hot, to square up the matter and claim a triumph is not the way to gain a people's affection, much less to safeguard a government's prestige. The lesson, we hope, will be learnt before long by other procincial Governments who likewise think it an easy matter to flout the opinion of whole communities."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

N.C.S. 12. The Qaumi Report, of the 9th January, has a sub-leader on this subject which is to this effect:--We have learnt from a reliable source that the Government of Madras to not wish to make the visit of the Prince utterly devoid of lustre by endeavouring to check with force the movement of non-co-operation and volunteers as has been the case in Calcutta and etc., as Justice a semi-official paper writes:--"The sale of Khadder in streets or proclaiming a boycott is not a crime."

At last the authorities have learnt a lesson.

We are glad that the Government of Madras has learnt a lesson from the repression in Calcutta, etc. But they are yet unaware of the real power of the non-co-operation. If the Provincial Government, and along with them Lord Reading try to understand the present peaceful agitation in India, we can assert with certainty that there will not exist any quarrel between the Government and people.

II.--HOME ADMIN STRATION.

(c) Jails.

P.P. 13. Remarking that, when Mr.C.Rajagopala Achariyar wrote in the Swarajya a few days before his conviction that the British Government should be deemed to be an uncivilized one in so far as it awards rigorous imprisonment to political offenders, he could not certainly have thought that such prisoners would be given insufficient food or food which is detrimental to their health, the Tamil Nadu, of the 8th January, writes:--But we hear that he himself and Mr.M.V. Subrahmanya Sastriyar are given only such food at present. What can we say about the mentality of the authorities that are capable of practising such cruelties? Mr.Achariyar is suffering not only from asthma but also from itch and the state of health of Mr.Sastriyar also is not satisfactory. It is needless for us to state that such things will not happen in any land except India. It is, therefore, the duty of every Indian to do away altogether with such a perverse system of administration as makes it possible for such cruelties to be practised.

Treatment of Political prisoners.

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(d) Education.

B. 14. Remarking that it is seen from the administration report of the Presidency College, Madras, for last year that Brahman students and chiefly those of the Tanjore district form the majority of the students in this College, which is administered with the aid of the public revenue, the Dravidan, of the 10th January, concludes that this clearly

The Presidency College, Madras.

shows that non-Brahman students do not get sufficient support in this institution.

N.C.S. 15. Referring to the action taken against some papers in Northern India under the Press Act, the Tamil Nadu, of the 8th January, writes:--The friends of the Government cried aloud that the Repressive Laws Committee had buried the Press Act and the moderates too were asserting that this barbarous Act would no longer be given effect to. But, never before was this cruel Act applied as much as it is now. If even an Act which is reported to have become defunct attacks us with such ferocity, we do not know what the rigour of the existing Acts will be. We are, however, in duty bound to be heartily grateful to the bureaucrats who give effect to their laws, as the rigour of all such laws is conducive to the growth of the non-co-operation movement.

The Press Act.

(e) Local and Municipal.

16. The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th January, says under this heading with reference to the oath of allegiance to be taken by the members of local bodies:- The meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee have resolved that non-co-operators may become members of the bodies taking this oath. From this it is plain that the exclusion of non-co-operators contemplated by the Local Self-government Minister could not be effected. It is to be seen what other means the authorities will have recourse to, in order to exclude the non-co-operators from the local bodies.

Local Boards. X

P.A. 21. Referring to the news of the conviction of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai and three other Punjab leaders for having held a meeting in contravention of the Seditious Meetings Act, and secondly for having proceeded with the meeting, in spite of a prohibitory order, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th January, observes:--The arguments adduced by the counsel for the prosecution to prove that the leaders were really guilty strike at the very root of the fundamental rights of the people. If his reasoning that even members of a committee form part of the public and that their meetings also are public meetings should be taken as gospel, any kind of meeting in an area wherein the Seditious Meetings Act is in force, will become a public meeting. As pointed out by the vakil appointed by the Government to plead the cause of the leaders, even the discussion by the members of a family, round the hearth, about civil disobedience will amount to a public meeting then. Alas! what has it come to? Is this the banner of justice planted in India by Lord Reading?

The Punjab leaders.

N.C.S. 22. Remarking that it is the bounden duty of every one of the residents of Madras to accord an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince on the date of his landing, the Dravidan, of the 12th January, says that the mere fact of certain people making great fuss about boycotting his visit does not show that the nonc-co-operation movement has taken hold of the popular mind but results merely in a few shop-keepers being panic-striken as to what may happen on that day.

Remarking that never before was such a hartal observed in Madras, as was done on the day of the landing of the landing of the Prince of Wales in the City, the Swadesamitran,

of the 16th January, observes:--All the shops of the Indians remained closed in spite of the fact that the Bhogi festival came off on that day. It is a very long time since the public have naturally come to feel that they should obey the mandate of the Congress and so all people, whether shop-keepers or carriage-drivers, were ready to stop their respective work in difference to the request of the Congress. Though some mean acts and a few affrays here and there marred the excellency of the hartal, the gradual development of this spirit from the satyagraha day shows clearly how the interest of the people has grown in the political affairs of the country and so the British Government cannot put them down even with the entire help of the justice party. If the Prince of Wales, without being content with having had a look at the buildings, the streets and the rich men of the City, has understood the mental attitude of the people from the hartal, let him apprise his father and the British people of the fact that Indians cannot be governed by mere force any longer.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Madras.

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 17th January, in the course of a lengthy English article under this head-line, observes:--".....The sentiments contained in the reply of the Prince to the addresses presented to him in Madras go to show that His Royal Highness has inherited in no small degree, the noble traditions of his great grand-mother and his grand-father, to say nothing of the altruistic spirit that animates his father. ~~txxxxyxnothingxofxthexaltxxx~~ The good wishes of the Emperor and the future Emperor are one thing and the policy of the Ministers and bureaucrats another thing. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would have been mightily pleased, if a reign of peace and goodwill obtained in India, when he

he honoured her with his august presence. The bureaucrats willed it otherwise. And there is mourning on the one side and enforced joy on the other, on an occasion when there should have been universal and unmixed joy.....Hundreds of thousands of patriots are rotting in the jail to-day. On Joyful occasions like this, even criminals are set free. Is it not an irony of fate that saints and patriots should be sent to prison on an auspicious occasion like this? Has not the relentless conduct of the bureaucracy driven even the moderates into the extremist camp? Is this conduct pleasing to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales or His Majesty the King-Emperor? Was the British name for justice and fair-paly at any time at so low an ebb? People have begun to talk in this style. In these matters, there is something like personal equation. The bureaucrats have their own arguments to justify their un-British acts. We are of opinion that a saner and a more constructive policy was possible and that even the Viceroy with a judicial frame of mind was unable to realize the blessings of a Christian policy, a policy whose motto is 'a kiss for a kick' or in other words, a return of good for evil. It is the reversal of the policy that has made India a continent of mourning, when the future Emperor is in our midst. It is gratifying to note that the Punjab Government has begun to see the defects of this retorgressive policy and has begun to climb down. It is highly probably that the inspiration must have come from above. If this surmise is true, it is ten to one that, before His Royal Highness leaves India, there will be a general amnesty and a universal rejoicing and His Royal Highness will leave India, followed by the sincere blessings of all Indians, without regard to caste, colour or creed."

Referring to the same subject, the same paper in a communicated English article writes:--".....All these could have been avoided, if the authorities, both in Madras

and of the Government of India, had taken the time by the forelock and published a communique releasing all political prisoners. The release of Lalaji, Subrahmanya Siva and the Sikh prisoners a day earlier would have contributed a great deal to mitigate considerably the rigidity of the hartal. It is openly said that British statesmanship is now at a low ebb and that, in the interests of the Empire a wholesale reconstitution both in the British and India Governments is absolutely necessary. Both in the press and on the platform, people have begun to show that Dalhousies, Curzons and Readings have contributed more to shake the foundations of the British Empire than Cannings, Ripons, and Hardinges, but for whom the history of India would have been other than what it is to-day. With all his judicial frame xxx of mind, Lord Reading has shown himself to be a thorough failure as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and it is very likely that a stronger man with greater decision of character would fill the Viceregal throne in India before long."

Mr.C.R.Das on non-co-operation.

24. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th January, publishes in Tamil the substance of the presidential address of Mr.C.R.Das which was not delivered and says:-- Just as it is often stated that, having ears, the bureaucrats do not hear and, having eyes, they do not see, they have intelligence but they do not understand the truth. So, though we cannot confidently assert that the address of Mr.Das can disabuse their minds of their misapprehensions, there is little doubt that it would have proved to be an instructive lesson to the world. Mr.Das has pointed out that it is certain, from the fact of many eminent men like Lajput Rai, Nehru and the Ali brothers, and

thousands of volunteers having gone to prison cheerfully, that non-co-operation will not be a failure and that, the greater our sacrifices, the nearer will be our goal. Accordingly, people are coming forward to make huge sacrifices. From the fact that people are acting with the utmost passivity, in spite of the imprisonment of thousands of volunteers and many leaders, it is certain that they have understood the real aims of the non-co-operation movement. May the Almighty help the speedy attainment of the results expected from the movement.

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25. Village officers. Remarking that the reason for the Congress not insisting upon its advice to Government servants to resign their appointments being acted upon, in spite of its great utility, is the inability of the Congress to provide proper means of living to those who may act up to that advice, the Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, refers however to the majority of Government servants and especially the village officers receiving very low salaries and observes:-- Many were taking up Government service till now on account of the foolish regard and glamour they had for it. Now that the Congress has ordered that every Indian should cease to co-operate with the Government, the village officers, who are receiving less pay than even coolies working for wages, can easily resign their posts. They can earn three or four times this salary in other ways. Our Andhra brethren are evincing much interest in this matter. Hundreds of village officers have resigned their appointments and are doing so still. We are sure to hear very soon that there is noteven one Indian village officer in the Andhra province. But, in the Tamil land, these officers are sleeping. When, after all, will the political whirlwind, which is sweeping the whole country, blow on them and wake them up?

Genl. 26.

Non-Payment of taxes.

The Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, points elsewhere to the news that none have paid the kist in about 80 villages in the Guntur district, that the taluk treasury is empty in Bapatla, that all big pattadars have vowed not to pay the kist, whatever hardships may result therefrom and that the properties of five pattadars are already under attachment and trusts that the pattadars in the Tamil land also will note these things and adopt the same course as soon as possible.

R.T.C. 27.

The Leaders' Conference at Bombay.

Characterising this conference as an unparalleled one, attended by persons holding all the parties in the country are unanimous in condemning them about the anxious situation that has, at present, been created. We trust that, without being obstinate, they will agree to call for a Round-table Conference and acknowledge their mistakes. They can well guage the attitude of the country from this conference. It has become manifest that there is not even a single party supporting their repressive policy. If, realising this themselves, they take proper steps, they will be doing a mighty service to the British Empire itself. The Government should also note carefully how the Mahatma and other leaders hold a unanimous view in the matter of the procedure to be adopted by the people until a Round-table Conference is held and the decision arrived at.

observes:— the Government should realise from this that all

Col. 28. Referring to an interview between Mr. Andrews and a representative of New India on the subject of the condition of the Indians in the Colonies, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 10th January, makes the following remarks;--

Indians in the Colonies.

Which Indian will be silent when he learns about the degradation to which the Indians are subjected in the British Colonies? In no colony can an Indian hold his head up ~~manfully~~ manfully and be happy. The Indians are groaning under the racial arrogance of the white man even in the territories of the British, who boast of thin sense of justice. The Indians had in the beginning laboured hard to make the Colonies fertile and now at a time when they should enjoy a well-earned rest, they are subjected to such grievances. It is difficult to understand whether fate is to be blamed or the white men cursed for this state of things. The difficulties of the Indians in Kenya are worse than those in East Africa and Uganda........In short the wretchedness of the Indians is the same all over. The white men do not like the very presence of the Indians in the Colonies. If the Imperial authorities do not set right this injustice, their reputation will suffer and unrest will prevail in the Empire and there is no use of regretting afterwards.

Pro. 29. A correspondent to the Nyaya Dipika, of the 10th January, observes that the non-co-operators are subjecting the Setti Balijas to many an act of violence such as belabouring those who bid at abkari auctions or who tap trees, and prays that the Government will take steps to protect them from such annoyance.

Setti Balijas and the new movement.

N.C.S. 31. The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th January, says in its leaderette under this heading:--

The Andhra Congress provincial Committee and the question of payment of taxes.

At a meeting of this Committee the question of the non-payment of taxes was discussed. At a time when the people have thought of having recourse to civil disobedience, it is not strange that they contemplate to adopt this means. The Andhra country is ahead of other provinces in the manufacture and use of khaddar cloth. It worked for putting down the drink evil and it met with great success. It is now enthusiastic about the non-payment taxes. The non-paymnet of taxes can be successfully effected only when the people do not show any regret or anxiety when their property is distrained or when it is being bought by others, but conduct themselves calmly and with self-control. The examples of Chirala and Godavari have shown that the Andhras can exercise such self-control. Such spirit should prevail all over the district. The representatives of the various districts have represented at the meeting that their several districts are prepared for this. The committee have decided that the people in the Andhra country should suspend the payment of the first cist. In pursuance of this, discretion was allowed to every district. The several districts should bear their individual responsibilities. The District Committees are already enthusiastic about discharging this responsibility. We hope that the District Committees will lay down the duty of the people after making arrangements for the maintenance of non-violent atmosphere in accordance with the resolution of the Congress. From the enthusiasm shown by the ryots at the Bezwada meeting, we may suppose that the masses have caught the spirit of the movement. It is hoped that the power manifested by the people of the Andhra country will be an example to the people of other places.

32. The Nyaya Dipika, of the 7th January, refers under this heading:--To the suggestion of the Mail that Government officers and the Police should go to the shops in Madras and advise the shop-keepers not to shut their shops at the instance of non-co-operators. It urges the Government to refrain from taking such a step as it may lead to unnecessary affray between the officers and the non-co-operators. It also requests the Government to reject another suggestion of the Madras Mail that the Government should parade troops in the streets of Madras as a means of encouragement to the public, as such a step may lead the people to misunderstand the intention of the Government as on the occasion of marching troops in the Andhra country recently.

The thoughtless writings of the Madras Mail.

GENL.' 34. The Hitakarini, of the 26th December, gives in Telugu under this heading an article by Mr.Bernard Houghton, containing passages such as:--...... The army has been sucking the blood and consuming the flesh of India since 1906. Has mother India no freedom from this at any time?.......Deceived by the sweet words of the British statesmen, our sepoys have taken up their side and helped to destroy the Turkish Empire. It is three years since the war terminated, but the expenditure has not diminished; but increased many-fold........What we see is that the poor ryot is taxed and the money is madly spent for military purposes.... Is this army to help the bureaucracy in crushing down the people?........ A Government that spends more than half of the revenue for maintaining its prestige is good for nothing. There is no doubt that the people have no confidence in it.....

India and army.

S.R. X 35. In its leader under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 7th January, observes to the following effect:--.. ....

Attempts at compromise.

Two attempts for a compromise have failed......What is the object of this conference? If it is merely to set free those who have been imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, it may remove the difficulty of the Government, but will not secure the salvation of the country. As Mahatma Gandhi has said what the country wants is not the peace of the stone, but the peace in the heart of a hero, unshaken by the firearms with which he is beset......May Malayya and his party know that mere superficial remedies will no avail......The Khilafat question is solving itself. There are no two opinions about the withholding of the pensions of General Dyer and others, who perpetrated massacres....... We have so far cherished hopes that the varipus parties may come to an agreement about swaraj; b ut the moderates conference that recently met at Allahabad shattered her hopes........ Why do the moderates require two years' time? It is to secure their seats on the Legislative Councils and their offices of Ministers, which they want to preserve at all risks. Is it with such people that a consultation should be held? ..... The success of these endeavours, the future alone will reveal.

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36. Under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 7th January, writes:--The Collector

Godavari district.

of Godavari has to be congratulated upon the way in which he has been nourishing the swaraj movement. The strength gathered by the non-co-operation movement by the punishment of the Cocanada leaders, such as Mr.Sambamurti, is great.....

The arrests of Doctor Subramanyam has added fresh impetus. Xxf Fifteen village officers forthwith resigned their offices. It may be said that there is not a single village officer in the whole of the Rahitapuram firka now.......If other officers also follow the example of Mr.Bracken, it will not long for swaraj to be established.

XXXX XXXXX38. N.C.S. The Andhrapatrika, of the 12th January, says under this heading:--In pursuance of the resolution of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, all the District Committees are meeting to to consider the question of the payment of taxes. The Andhra Provincial Committee has allowed the various district committees to use their discretion in the matter. The Provincial Committee has resolved that the taxes should not be paid till these committees decide upon the point. A telegram received from the Secretary of the Guntur District Committee announces that the District Committee is putting the resolution into effect. There is no doubt that the national movement in spreading among the masses. The people are arriving at a stage when they could carry on the movement of their own accord, when the leaders are imprisoned. This fact cannot but be recognized.

The Resolution of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

Genl. 39. Referring to the appreciation by Mr.Gandhi of the progress made by the Andhra Women in the manufacture of fine yarn by means of the spinning wheel, the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th January, remarks:--While the Andhra crountry is showing such wonderful progress it cannot but look absurd that the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K.Venkata Reddi Nayudu Garu, the Andhra Minister, takes every opportunity

The spinning industry.

to condemn the spinning wheel. It is the object of Mr.Nayudu to fill the country all over with machinery. Even a boy knows that this is impossible. Even if it is possible, those who know the wretched condition of the western world and the traditions of civilized India will understand that such a thing is undesirable. The remark of the Daily Express that the contempt of Mr.Nayudu for the spinning industry has tended to encourage that industry still more is a right one.

S.R. 41. In communicating upon a letter written to the Press by Mr.N.Subba Rao Pantulu the Andhrapatrika, of the 11th January remarks:--It may be said that the Justice Party in Madras is encouraging repression but the members of the Legislative Council of other Provinces are moderates. Even then when repressive measures are enforced severely and the birth-rights of people are being infringed by their being locked up in prisons, the Councillors are finding themselves unable to prevent it. Under such circumstances it is vain to think that the matters will improve if the Justice Party in the Madras Legislative Council are replaced by the moderates. The defect lies chiefly in the system of dual Government. From this it is plain that, unless the present system of administration gives place to complete self-government, the country will not benefit. If the other members of the Council who have any self-respect resign their membership like Mr.Srinivasa Ayyanger and help the people in the endeavours made by them for the attainment of immediate swaraj, they will be rendering invaluable service to the country.

Mr.N-Subba Rao Pantulu.

Genl. 42. The Sudarsini, of the 1st January, concludes its leader under this heading with an appeal to the Indians above the age of 18 to join the peace army without distinction of sex in accordance with the 'Mandate' of the Congress.

Congress-New age.

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43. Referring to the Mappilla train tragedy the Ryotpatrika, of the 4th December, remarks:--There can be no greater demonical act than this. So long as merciless and unprincipled officers are deputed to do any work, so long will the Government be considered troublesome to the people and authorities will forego their confidence, and anarchy will prevail.

Mappilla train tradegy.Xx

S.R. 44. In an article under this heading, appearing in the iAndhrapatrika, of the 15th January, from the pen of a correspondent, occur remarks such as the following:--English people, who maintained themselves in the name of service in India and now earn pension very often say that the responsibility of protecting India lies on them and that if swaraj be granted to the Indians, who are unfit to get it, anarchy will prevail and they would be considered to have renounced the trust placed in them. We shall see how far these words are true. If we examine history, it will be clear that nobody placed this 'repponsibility' on the English people. They came to this country, first of all, as merchants and acquired standing space owing to the liberality of the then rulers. Then they acquired authority by creating dissensions, out of motives of self-interest renouncing all sense of discrimination between high

Fitness for swaraj.

and low, by conspiring to sell their military aid to foment those dissensions, by cheating having recourse to forgery, and by imposing capital punishments on helpless enemies. How can there be any 'trust' placed in a Government which began with such misdeeds self-interestedly? If they confer certain benefits on the Indians, it is in atonement of their sins and cruelties but not out of favour. Viewing from the commercial side, it is evident that the English people will not care whatever evil happens to India in order to serve the commercial interests of the English merchants. Even though the railway materials can be purchased at half the price elsewhere than in England, tenders for such goods will not be received from persons other than the English merchants. They give out that superior articles can be had in England. God alone knows the truth. The way in which the Government are discharging that 'trust' is well known. The Punjab massacres, the Khilafat affair, the Malabar train tragedy, the arrest of leaders, all clearly bring out this fact. Why can they not shove this responsibility over to our own shoulders and be rid of the trouble? They say that only very few are educated in our land. Education can spread only when the country enjoys swaraj. That swaraj will come after a wide spread of education is a mere dream. According to the argument adduced by the English our graduates must wrest the lands from off the hands of our ignorant ryots. Will the civilized world agree to this? The present system of Government is based upon disarming the people. That the people demand swaraj stating that they will not continue to be slaves is an indication of India's fitness to attain swaraj. If England understands this and grants our wishes, it will be a beneficial thing to both parties.

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N.C.S.45. Referring to the order prohibiting meetings urging the non-payment of taxes, from taking place in certain firkas of the Guntur district, the Andhrapatrika of the 15th January, remarks:--A telegram announces that the Guntur District Congress Committee have decided that excepting in certain firkas, the payment of taxes should be withheld. The people's determination will not be shaken merely because meetings are prohibited. It must be understood that this desire emanated from the ryots themselves and not from the educated classes. Only, the educated classes had to follow the determination of the ryots. The East Kistna District Committee ask the people not to pay taxes till the 25th pending the expression of opinion by the various firkas with reference thereto. When popular opinion is like this, England can secure the lasting friendship of India by at once granting her wishes. The more it delays, the worse will the unrest in the country grow.

The question of taxes.

S.R. 46. In its review of the Congress Presidential address of Mr.C.R.Das, the Andhrapatrika of the 16th January, makes the following remarks:--As stated by Mr.Das the country has become dependant not only in politics but also in civilization and culture. If the Indian nation is not to be affaced from off the world the attainment immediate independence is essential. Whether India should attain swaraj within the British Empire or outside it, will depend upon the angle of vision of England. The country does not wish to be a slave within the empire but longs to be on an equal footing with the other parts of the empire. If England does not grant her an opportunity for the same the country will be inclined to have swaraj outside the empire.

Mr.C.R.Das's Presidential address.

If England does not grant her an opportunity for the same the country will be inclined to have swaraj outside the empire. In recognizing the independence of India there is no use of England giving it piece meal. It is necessary that she should recognize the right of India to freedom in full. Without such recognition, reforms have become futile. This is the chief defect of the reforms.......His Excellency the Viceroy has often stated that repressive measures have been enforced because the people have transgressed 'law'. But Mr.Das has adduced reasons to show that it is not the people but the authorities that violated the law. What else is the infringement of birth-rights, but a violation of law. The attempts made to suppress the Congress are opposed to law. Laws should be of use, not to curb public opinion but to strengthen it. It is disgraceful that those laws that are not so useful should remain in the statute book. For the sake of freedom which is the birth-right of man, Dr.Das went into the hermitage of swaraj. The Indian nation should do its utmost to attain such freedom in accordance with the appeal of Mr.Das.

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48. Doctor Subrahmanyam Garu, — In its leader under this heading, the Godavari-patrika, of the 10th January, appreciates the work done by Dr.B.Subrahmanyam for the political awakening of the people of the Godavari district and congratulates him on his recent conviction under section 108. Remarks such as the following occur in the course of the article:--This patriot has, by his skilful doctoring, removed the cataract from the eyes of the Andhra people, particularly those of the Godavari district, and given them true vision.........By his present punishment he was of course locked up but the object

of the bureaucracy will not be fully accomplished. If Doctor Subrahmanyam had not interested himself in this business of awakening, the philosophy of the non-co-operation movement would not have found its way so soon into the very marrow of the people........Pain and pleasure belong to the body. The Government could bind the body, as it belongs to them. The soul does not belong to them. It will not yield to the canon, nor can it be cut by the sword. Each man is the master of his soul; others have no control over it. The body is ephemeral, while the soul is immortal. In their hankering for transitory objects, the Government have been able to bind the body of Doctor Subrahmanyam and put it in the jail......The District Magistrate had complete confidence in him and let him free during the trial without taking from him any security even.......We think that a similar spirit of confidence is entertained towards non-violent non-co-operators in general. If so, it must be regarded that the authorities have begun to realize the soundness of the principles of non-co-operators.........

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50. The attitude of English manufacturers towards Indian students.

Referring to an excerpt from the report of the Indian Students Association in England that the Directors of the manufacturing concerns in that country are refusing to afford facilities to Indian students in the matter of technical education, the Kanthirava, of the 10th January, in a short note, observes:--If the Indian students are not given admission to the manufacturing concerns of England, they will, as a matter of course, find their way either to America or to Japan, and when these students ~~are not given admission~~ return to this country after completing their education there, they will naturally enough become inclined to

effect contracts for machinery and other equipments required for their industries with those countries only. The British do not perhaps realize for the time being that the shreqed American merchants and the American Department of Industries are really dealing a death-blow to the English-trade by affording greater facilities to the Indian students; but in these days of keen competition, it is nothing short of folly on the part of the British to rest content with the idea that no harm will result therefrom since India is all their own. What use will it be to take precautionary steps after matters pass beyond control?

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51. The New Year. Drawing the attention of Government to the demands made by the Moderate Conference that held its session recently at Allahabad, the Navayuga, of the 5th January, in a leading article under this heading, remarks:--If the Government do not condescend to grant at once even these demands of the moderates we are afraid that Government will lose the support of even this party and add to the number and strength of the non-co-operators. With the dawn of the New Year, Mr.Gandhi has taken out from his armoury the terrible weapon of civil disobediance. In case this weapon also proves futile, possibly all the extremists will side Hazrat Mohani whose party demands absolute independence and contends that the programme of non-violence which underlies the present-day non-co-operation movement should be thrown overboard. Repression is being resorted to in all its rigour with the object of putting down the non-Violent activities of a meek and submissive people: and Heaven alone knows what all terrible experiences are in store for us in the future.

Parties. 53. The Margadarsi, of the 6th January, points out that the resolutions passed at the last session of the Congress and of the Muslim League have only increased the unrest and agitation in the country, points out that the enlistment of National Volunteers who have to take an oath that they are prepared to give up their life in the national cause indifectly shows that in the near future there will be bloodshed in India and that the change that these volunteers will bring about is Bolshevism pure and simple, and thinks that the Congress and the League are dragging India to a calamity greater than any higherto known in the history of the world. The paper, therefore, calls upon all people to help and co-operate with the Government and the moderates in their efforts to avert this impending danger.

The political situation.

N.C.S. The Kerala Sanchari, of the 11th January, deplores the increase of unrest in the country day by day, and thinks that the non-co-operation movement of Mr.Gandhi and the repressive policy of the Government are both out of placex at this moment and that the administration of a country should be carried out with sympathy and love if it should have stability and create contentment.

The political situation.

Referring to the recent communique issued by the Government of the Punjab prohibiting all movements towards civil disobedience and threatening that more rigorous steps will be taken to do away with political agitation, the Swarat, of the 14th January, expresses surprise that the Government have not realised that the people of the Punjab could no longer be frightened by such threats and points out that civil disobedience is the weapon most suited to attack the policy of the Government, without violence, and that a policy of repression will become

The political situation.

futile if the people use this weapon with self-control and peaceful dignity.

Genl. 54. The Manorama, of the 6th January, admits the necessity of introducing special police and military forces in Malabar and of affording facilities to the Hindus for self-defence, but points out that it will be admitted on all hands that the spread of education amongst the Mappillas, the introduction of railways and roads running through the interior of Mappilla centres, and spread of industries among them, are absolutely necessary for ensuring the future peace and tranquillity of the Mappilla taluks. The paper thinks that the most important of these is the education of the Mappillas and the introduction of railways. It takes exception to the continuance of separate schools for Mappillas which can only serve to perpetuate communal rivalry and animosity. The paper, therefore, invites the attention of the authorities to this matter and to the uselessness of the religious instruction imparted in Mappilla schools.

The Malabar reconstruction.

In its issue of the 10th January the paper ~~xxxx~~ again refers to the necessity of the introduction of railways running through Mappilla centres, points out that if the work, for part of which preliminary surveys have already been completed, is commenced at once, it will give employment to many people who are now destitute as a result of the riot and hopes that this matter will receive the special attention of the authorities concerned.

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55. The Qaumi Report, of the 4th January, referring to the acts of repression that are being practised in sending thousands of patriots to jail and thereby shutting their mouths, attributes them to the same personage who had stated in reply to an adress by an association at Calcutta that in spite of his profound reflection and consideration he is at a loss to know what the object of the movement of the party of non-co-operation in India is, and observes(1) that it is not the time to pass it off in vain talk, but that the Khilafat question should be solved at once, otherwise there will be no use of his making vain promises, (2) the Punjab oppressors should be retried, and the offenders should be punished for their misdeeds, (3) we claim the independence of India as a matter of maternal right, and unless we see the bonds of slavery broken into pieces, we will neither rest nor allow others to be at ease.

The sighs of the lovers of the motherland.

For the week ending 28th January 1922.

NO. 4 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

N.C.S. 1. Referring to Sir Sankaran Nayar's letter dated the 17th January, to the Times of India regarding the proceedings of the Malaviya Conference, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 18th January, observes:--Sir Sankaran Nayar's reputation for sturdy commonsense has been

Non-co-operation.

considerably enhanced by his manly protest against Mr.Gandhi's dictatorship. Sir Sankaran Nayar is not a blubbering, sentimental politician who falls a ready victim to charlatanry. Mr.Gandhi's political cult, if it can come under any definition of politics, is unmitigated charlatanry, and we are not surprised that Sir Sankaran Nayar did not succumb to its glamour........Sir Sankaran Nayar has drawn a faithful portrait of the non-co-operation movement and not a syllable need be deleted.....There is not one word of exaggeration here. If the Government should still persist in their belief that there is a non-violent side to non-co-ope ation it will be terrible folly compassing the ruin of the country. The situation is certainly the making of the Government whose attitude towards non-co-operation has but a premium on violence and disorder. Sir Sankaran Nayar's condemnation of the weak-kneed policy of Lord Chelmsford's Government is absolutely just and the pity of it is that they have begun to see the futility of such a policy and its dangers to the country. 'The movement of which Mr.Gandhi is the head, has attained these proportions,' Sir Sankaran Nayar contends on account of the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford's Government whose policy was continued by the present Government.' The Government can no longer say that non-co-operation can be non-violent. The tragic happeningsat Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad and Madras are a rude contradiction to any such comfortable belief. The Government will be doing irreparable injury to themselves and will be jeopardising the interests of the country if they entered into any undertaking with the non-co-operators, acting on the advice of irresponsible busy bodies who are obsessed by the notion that a round-table conference is going to work miracles."

Janmabjumi, of the 19th January, has the following:--

"The Red flag.

In accordance with the latitude given by the Congress to each Provincial Congress Committee to work out the principles and policy of non-co-operation, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has held that the time is opportune for the withholding of all land-tax, water-cess and quit-rent due to the British Government as also the income-tax, and has left it to the various District Congress Committees to select the particular tract or tahsil in which this may be done, regard being had to the conditions laid down for mass civil disobedience both in Delhi on 5th November and in Ahmedabad during Congress session.......We must confess that in this matter the hands of the several Congress Committees have been virtually forced by the irrepressible enthusiasm of the ryots......Broadly speaking the ryot population is divisible into two classes, those actively arrayed against the bureaucracy and those passively sympathising with them. The former are willing to suspend the payment of taxes, the latter are unwilling to buy the former's property when that is auctioned. Both are bitter against the Revenue, the Public Works Department and the one hundred and one departments whose departmentalism has ground them down in a variety of ways. Their awakening is real. They hanker after relief and relief they seek only in showing the red flag to the engine of administration which has been speeding on for a hundred and fifty years without halt or brake........After all is said and done, there remains the last comfort to those who may be faltering or hesitant. They may pay their taxes after demand notice, after attachment, after warrant, or after auction, and recover their property. Nevertheless the Congress Committees have been most circumspect in embarking upon this step. They are still feeling their way, they are virtually taking a plebiscite in the villages. They have postponed the decision till the 25th instant. In the meantime

they have only passed an injuction. They wave the red flag with their right hand to stop the train. They have in their left hand the green flag and are willing to raise it in order to start the train once again as soon as the obstacles are removed, the rails are set and the line is cleared."

Government and civil disobedience in Andhra districts.

2. Commenting on the orders issued by Government against the civil disobedience movement in the Andhra districts, the Hindu, of the 21st January, writes:-- "Nothing succeeds like success. With its attenuated moral credit enforced, as it fondly believes, by the blank cheque given to it by the central legislature, the bureaucracy is starting with renewed vim on its gay glissade down the Gadarene slopes of political bankruptcy. Whatever searchings of heart it might have undergone from the temporary aberration of its staunch supporters, the moderates, have now been dispelled in the exhilaration roused by the attitude of the Assembly and the Council of State. It is not therefore surprising, knowing what we do of our local tin gods that one of the earliest reactions of that great betrayal should take place in this Presidency. The Government of Madras have in view of the threatened civil disobedience in Guntur thought fit in the plenitude of its wosdom and irresponsibility to issue a proclamation and certain instructions to the Inspector-General of Police and Collectors of districts........We would only draw attention to their extremely provocative character and point out how solid a contribution they make to the literature of incitement. We are not arguing anything so absurd as that Government should sit down with folded hands--we believe that is the time-honoured phrase--while the forces of anarchy and disruption were acquiring momentum. But we do say that

Government ought to make certain that the situation is serious enough to demand the drastic steps it proposes to take. Now what is the situation? Government says there is a widespread movement for civil disobedience and that a large number of village officers was the answer to the repressive policy pursued so thoroughly and-from the popular point of view--with such ~~conscip~~ conspicuous success, in the Andhra districts. But it will not be denied that the popular leaders are not by any means convinced that the time has come for civil disobedience in the Andhradesa. We shallhere make our position clear. We are distinctly of opinion that any movement of mass civil disobedience is to say the least extremely premature. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the particular form of disobedience proposed, the non-payment of taxes, is fraught with grave perils alike to peace, and tranquillity and the movement of non-violent non-co-operation. We are not unconscious of the wonderful progress made in the Andhradesa in assimilating the basic principles of the movement nor are we ignorant of the flaming patriotism of our Andhra brethren. But we do think that in this very intensity of their patriotism there is a danger, when that patriotism is opposed by the violent, crass, unreasoning and often vindictive stupidity of officialdom, that the contact might light the spark which would unchain the forces of violence. Anxious as ever to do its best to alleviate the difficulties of the situation, the Government considerately propose to see that any little contribution it could make to the materials for the holocaust should not be wanting.......It proposes, and here one recognises the touch of a master-hand, to allot lands bought in by Government, which naturally would mean the great majority of lands, to members of the depressed classes. That, as we said, is a touch of genius. You solve the problem of the depressed classes on the one hand and by creating a

body of mercenary loyalists on the other achieve a population whose dearest interests are closely bound up with loyalty' to Government. It is true that this has the incidental disadvantage of creating a large body of dispossessed and evicted ryots but that is no concern of Government........ We leave it to our readers, in the varying measure of their capacities, adequately to charactersidr the policy the Government has launched on."

Genl. 3. The West Coast Reformer, of the 25th January, has the following:--"Mr.C.F.Andrews,

Mr.Andrews and the Mappilla rebellion.

in a letter to the Servant of India, furnishes a diagnosis of the causes of the present troubles in Malabar which is very much like what was offered at the early stages of the present trouble by some of the non-co-operation organs. Agrarian oppression practiced by landlords, police tyranny and religious fanaticism owing to the Khilafat question are the tripod on which according to this reverend gentleman the Mappilla rebellion stands. It is amusing to find at this late hour of the day that there is still left a champion of the exploded theories of landlordial oppression and police tyranny. The first attempts at fastening the responsibility on the broad shoulders of the unfortunate landlord and much maligned Booby failed so miserably as to make the originators of this theory look small in the face of the staring facts which pointed to the Khilafat agitation as the sole cause of the trouble. The demand made by an organized band of Mappillas advocating the cause of Khilafat, the fiery speeches that are said to have been delivered even on the morning of the fatal day of blaze, the organized and systematic operations of the rebels,

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the cutting of telegraph wires and the looting of public offices, the marching of rebels in serried ranks with Khilafat flags and volunteers;-- all these tend to show in the opinion of reverend gentleman that the outbreak was due to agrarian discontent and police oppression! ! ! ! It has now been acknowledged even by the most ardent supporters of the Gandhian creed that in Malabar Khilafat propaganda is alone responsible for the outbreak and yet Mr.Andrews will not forsake the fad of the non-co-operator! We do not know who gave this information to the reverend gentleman but we wish to warn him against being misled by interested informants."

N.C.S. 4. Swarajya, of the 26th January, writes:--"The British Press has begun to cry for blood. The Daily Telegraph, a paper which is only less notorious than the Morning Post in its reactionary views, has an article on the situation in India.......The Daily Telegraph is a devoted votary of that school which believes in the gospel of force, but it does not seem to know yet that the Government of Lord Reading has stretched repression to such a length that it has long past even the horrors of Martial Law. Mr.Montagu may well exclaim that repression is not the word for it. In a sense, he is quite right, for it is too mild a term to express the lawless methods of the bureaucracy. A correspondent to the Madras Mail, a true son of the tribe which the Daily Telegraph represents, recently suggested that, as imprisonment did not serve the purpose in the case of non-co-operators, the cat o' nine tails' should be resorted to. We are writing this only to warn our readers that, born of the courage of despair, the bureaucracy will certainly do much worse things than what the correspondent of the Mail has mildly suggested. In fact,

Present political situation.

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in various parts of the country, we have already heard of many who in their heroic attempts to uphold 'British law and order' have out-distanced even the Punjab miscreants. Before we can see the end of our struggle, we shall have to pass through no little suffering. Let us not harbour any thoughts of anger, revenge or ill-will against our opponents for any harm that they may do us. Let us rather steel our hearts and meet it all with non-violence in thought, word and deed.".

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(j) Salt and Abkari.

Pro. 7. Reviewing in its leader under this heading, the Abkari Administration Report for 1920-21, the Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd January, observes:--

The Abkari revenue.

.......The Government feel sorry for the fall in the abkari revenue and would abuse non-co-operators. But all those who have at heart the well-being of the country and the moral advancement of the people cannot but express their joy over the decrease of the abkari revenue. It may be stated beyond doubt that the evil habit of drinking has spread among the people on account of Government encouragement........It cannot but be a matter for surprise that the authorities who have suppressed the birth-rights of the people should express regret that individual freedom is being violated, simply because the people are persuaded to give up drinking. The report regrets that the Government will lose a revenue of 543 lakhs of rupees from the closure of toddy shops. From this, it may be seen that it is the desire for revenue which prompts the authorities to oppose the efforts of reformers.

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The Abkari revenue.

But if drinking disappears from the country, poverty will be driven out and the Government revenue also will increase.

N.C.S. 9. Referring to the resolutions revently moved in the Indian Legislative Assemblyxxxxxx and the Council of State on the present situation having been thrown out, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th January, observes:--Though, looking at it superficially, the resolutions and the amendments brought forward by the representative members would appear to have been lost, a close scrutiny will show that many of those showxxxxx that many of those who voted in favour of the Government were officials. We have been, from the very outset, pointing out that reformed councils were constituted only with the firm conviction that men would be available among ourselves who act prejudicially to us. The speeches of some of the moderates and Anglo-Indian representatives, who unhesitatingly went over to the side of the Government, show that it was mainly due to the actions of Sir Sankaran Nayar and Sir Sivaswami Ayyar. It is indeed the misfirtune of this Presidency that these two knights should have come forward, with an open hostility to Mr.Gandhi against the feelings of the public, to lend strong support to the measures of the Government. The speech of Sir William Vincent on the resolution on behalf of the Government aimed more at rousing the passions of the Members of the Assembly against non-co-operators than at convincing them of the soundness of his arguments. It is in no way edifying to the high position held by Sir William Vincent that, having stated a year age in the same Assembly that resort to repressive measures would only strenghten the non-co-operation movement, he should have now come forward to speak in favour of the repressive policy. However, he indirectly admitted, towards the close of the discussion, his consciousness of the folly of applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and

the Seditious Meetings Act. These councils comprise only moderates and members of the Government party, without a single non-co-operator in them, and so, they should be in the good books of the Government. If, even in such councils, the Government secured a majority on this question, only by the support of the officials and some moderates, they can well find out which way the wind blows. But it is not usual with this Government to understand the situation in the country at the proper time and do the needful. They will make up only when it becomes too late. It remains to be seen whether they will act in the same manner now too, or will call for a Round-table Conference on the lines indicated by the Bombay Conference.

The Dravidan, of the 21st January, refers to the resolution moved in the Legislative Assembly on the present situation and, regretting that a suggestion should have been made therein that the Government should immediately stop their repressive policy, observes:--No other

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Inviting the attention of the moderates and some self-seekers in India, who think that the people here have been very happy under the British rule and that dangerous consequences will result from the non-co-operation movement, to the words of a French professor about the effects of the British rule in India, a correspondent to the same paper observes:--This professor says that the unrest prevalent in the world since the termination of the European war is most predominant only in Egypt and India and describes how India is a good market for British goods and in what all ways she is useful to the British. He adds that it is impossible to estimate the enormous sum of money carried away to England from India in connexion with trade and remarking that, though the British administrators have contributed much

to the material progress of India, the masses in the country are still immersed in poverty, points out how food-stuffs costing 45 million pounds are exported to other countries from India, while crores of Indians are shedding tears of blood for want of food. He continues that if the nationalist movement, which has been growing since 1905 on account of these causes, saceeds in its object, the foundations of the British Empire will be shaken and the condition of the world itself will be changed. Brethren! A foreigner living far away, has spoken in such terms. If you are the true sons of Bharata, if it is a fact that Indian blood flows through your veins, and if you have any self-respect, it is certain that you will not put up with this absolute sway of the bureaucrats even for a moment. Further, are you aware of the distinction that is being made between the whites' and the Indians? Comment on this is needless. If you follow Mr.Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement, you are sure to win very soon.

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10. Spinning wheels and the Madras Legislative Council.

Remarking that it is regrettable, though not surprising, that the Minister for Development should have, in connexion with the resolution brought forward in the local Legislative Council, claiming the patronage of the Government, for spinning wheels and cottage industries, stated that the Government would not bestow the least consideration on that matter as yarn from the spinning wheel cannot complete with that from mills, a correspondent to the Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, observes:--For, how can the bureaucrats support the spinning wheel when Mr.Gandhi is teaching us to oppose and fight their brute-force with the weapon of spinning wheels? The improvement of spinning wheels with the aid of the Government should not even be dreamt of, as no one will forge weapons to cut his own throat. Mr. Somasundaram

Pillai's words in the Council that no intelligent man will patronize Khaddar cloth, as it is like a gunny bag, cause amazement. But it will be perfectly clear to Mr.Pillai, who uses foreign cloth and is thus a slave to foreigners, that yearn finer than the mill yarn can be spun with the wheel in the near future, if he spins yarn therewith at his own house. Again, Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar's observations on this subject are ludicrous indeed and we are very sorry that, in his ripe old age, he should have been entangled in the illusive net of the bureaucracy and should be nodding his head to all their atrocities. But, the most astounding of all the speeches was that of Dr.Palmer who said that mankind would become hunch-backed by the use of spinning wheels and he was no doubt inspired in this speech by the idea that by their general use in India, England would have to forego all her enormous profits. It is clear from all this that no good whatever will accrue to the country by moving resolutions in Legislative Councils and by making very clever speeches therein. I pray therefore that, at least hereafter, our friends in the Council will shake themselves free of the illusive net of Legislative Council and, discarding the titles of Government which are worthless and are held in contempt by the Indian public, come forward to obey the commands of Mr.Gandhi, enlist themselves immediately as volunteers of the Congress, enter prison for the Government and crown our mother Bharata with the diadem of swaraj.

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12. Non-violence. Referring to this subject the Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, refers to certain acts of violence recently committed at Salem and writes:--Some officials, who are bent upon crushing our movement by striking terror into the hearts of the people by the use of cannon and shot, are awaiting the moment when we shall resort to violence, as they have been detesting our pursuit of non-violence and have begun to realise only now that it is somewhat difficult to wage war against the force of satyagraha. And it will be folly indeed on our part to descend to violence at this juncture and thus help these officials.

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Col. 13. Dr. Mani Lal. Adverting to the sufferings said to have been undergone by Dr. Mani Lal at the hands of the Governments of Fiji, Australia and Ceylon for his services in the cause of the Indian labourers in the plantations of the 'whites' in the Fiji Islands, the Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, observes:--While heroes like Dr. Mani Lal, who are working hard for the rights of the labourers, are being honoured by civilized Governments, he has been deprived of even the right to reside in the countries belonging to the British Empire, as his colour is black. Will our moderate friends cease to prate, at least hereafter, about the special advantages derived by us from the British Empire? The case of Dr, Mani Lal brings out clearly the truth of the constant stress laid by Mr. Andrews upon the necessity for the immediate severance of our connexion with this cruel Empire.

Cong. 14. Observing that certain people of Salem were wounded by the District Superintendent of Police pushing while on horse-back the crowd that followed Mr.C. Ananda Achariyar and four others who were being taken to Court under arrest and that certain others were also wounded by the constables who attacked and pushed the people under the orders of the said Superintendent, the Tamil Nadu, of the 15th January, writes under this heading as follows:

Repression Salem.

There was no necessity whatever for committing such unjust acts. As the people, assembled there, were however of a peaceful temperament, they put up with all those acts. But had that Superintendent conducted himself so unwisely in some European town, a great disturbance would have ensued. We should, however, view the unwise acts of such officials as transpiring in order to put to the test our faith in the principle of non-violence. An order has also been issued that no picketing or other work should be carried on by more than five people together, within a distance of two furlongs from the toddy shops in Salem so as to cause a breach of the public peace and, as a result of the aforesaid methods, several workers have come forward to disobey this order. There is not the slightest doubt that this down which has, for the past few days, some what lagged behind in carrying on the Congress propaganda will, on account of such acts of the officials of this town, work with great zeal and stand foremost in the Tamil land as usual.

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16. Referring to the recent utterance of Sir Sankaran Nayar that Mr.Gandhi insists upon certain demands merely with the idea of putting the Government to shame and to the reply of the latter that he has no such idea either against the Government or against any man whatsoever, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th January, writes:--

Sir Sankara Nayar and Mr.Gandhi.

Even the Government will admit the existence of the feeling amongst the majority of Indians that the authorities have often acted in a manner derogatory to the honour of this country and to the self-respect and manliness of the Indians themselves. The main object of the people is that relief should be afforded for those indignities and that the Indians should, by the winning of swaraj and other means, attain to such a position as will ensure to them the impossibility of the recurrence of similar indignities. Further, there is no party in this country which does no condemn the acts of the Government in respect of the Punjab, the Khilafat and Political reforms. Nor is there any party which does not take exception to the repressive measures adopted by them at present. Such being the case, we are at a loss to find wherein lurks the desire for insulting the Government in the demand that the Government should do such acts as will satisfy the people, in deference to the feelings of the latter. Nor is Sir Sankaran Nayar justified in condemning the demands of India before the very holding of the Round-table Conference, while Mr.Gandhi has clearly expressed that he would give up such of those demands as are proved to him by any person to be either unjust or impracticable, whatever conclusions might be arrived at by that conference. There is no item whatever, that can be insulting to the Government, among these demanded from them as a preliminary to the meeting of the Round table Conference, for, the Government themselves have consented to release the prisoners convicted under

the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act. And Sir William Vincent has stated that the Government of India had asked the provincial Governments to ascertain and afford relief for any miscarriage of justice in respect of those who have been convicted under sections 144, 108, 107 124 and 153. Hence, there does not appear to have been any idea of insulting the Government in the request that a committee should be appointed to inquire into, and render justice in, the matter of such prisoners. The only prisoners that now remain are those who are known as the Fatwa prisoners and who went to jail believing in their religious teachings, rightly or wrongly. And, unless these are assigned places in the conference, Indian Muslims cannot be deemed to have got seats therein. From the negotiations carried on by the Government with the Ali brothers on a former occasion, there is no ground for thinking that the Government will not assent to releasing the Ali brothers and other Fatwa prisoners and taking them also into the conference. Moreover, the Ali brothers were convicted only on minor counts, they having been acquitted so far as the more serious ones were concerned and there can be no miscarriage of justice in releasing them. Thus, it is clear that the fault laid at the door of Mr.Gandhi does not attach to any of the requests urged by him. We would, in this connexion, lay stress on the suggestion made by the Athaenum and Nation that Lord Reading should have interviewed Mr.Gandhi immediately after the latter expressed his regret at the disturbances that occurred in Bombay on the day of the landing of the Prince of Wales in the City. As Lord Reading, however, let slip that opportunity, we shall see if he will take advantage of the one that has presented itself now and establish his statemanship in India and the Empire.

Genl. 17. Quoting extracts from aletter of Sir Velentine Chirol to the London Times to the effect ~~tat~~ that the main difference between the political situation in Egypt and that in India is that while, as stated by the Viceroy, his Executive Council lends its entire support to his resorting to rigorous measures for the prevention of the employment of violence by the extremists on others and the Indian representatives on all the legislative bodies also do likewise, the High Commissioner of Egypt has to seek the aid of Martial Law for deporting Zaglul Pasha and a few of his friends, as no prominent Egyptian supports him in his rigorous methods, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th January, writes:--Our readers can guage the real situation from this letter. The legislative bodies of India also have so conducted themselves as to make it appear that there are grounds for the contentions put forth by persons like Sir Valentine. It is clear from the discussions which took place day before yesterday that the members of the Executive Council are supporting the Viceroy. And our contention from the very beginning that no kind of good will result from the mere fact of appointing a large number of Indians to high posts has indeed been confirmed now. The only profit we have derived from the New Reforms Act is that, while previously there was room for one to say that the Government acted with the support of only one Indian Member, they can now boast that they have the support of three Indian Members.

Egypt and India.

R.T.C. 18. The resolutions moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State for convening a Round-table Conference have been defeated. Moderates like Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar are not inclined to support the rights of the Indians such as the right of speech, and he who condemned the repressive policy of the Government in the Moderate Conference at Allahabad lends his whole-hearted support to the Government in the Legislative Assembly. In these circumstances, will the Government be inclined to convene a Round-table Conference? But we expect that high titles will be awarded, in the first week of June, to those moderate friends who reviled Mr.Gandhi in the legislative bodies. Will our friends realise, at least hereafter, the futility of the Legislative Assembly?

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Cong. 19. Prefacing its observations on the same subject with the remark that this Conference, which was composed of leaders who do not lead any party, met at Bombay and dispersed, the Navasakti, of the 29th January, writes:-- Our suspicion at the very time when the chariman of this conference was elected, that it would not be productive of much good, in spite of the fact that some nationalist papers wrote in praise thereof, has now been confirmed. Though the fact of Sir C.Sankaran Nayar having, all on a sudden, withdrawn from being the Chairman of the Conference on account of the hatred he had towards Mr.Gandhi on his speech, may be said to cause surprise and regret to many persons, both these sentiments do not find place in our mind. The very fact that no one followed him when he retired from the Conference, will make it perfectly clear as to how many persons support his view. But it is said that he resigned the post of the member of the Executive Council of the Government of India solely on account of his indignation in connexion with the Punjab

massacre. If this fact is true, why should he have accepted the post of member of the India Council Immediately thereafter? From this single instance, one can understand the devotion he has towards his country. It will be clear from the resolutions of the Congress Committee at Bombay, that the Congress party have not swerved even a little from the principle that they should enter into an honourable compromise. Now, the responsibility for convening a Round-table Conferenc rests with the Government alone. But it is doubtful, after having read Sir Sankaran Nayar's letter to the Times of India, whether the Government will consent to enter into terms with the Congress. Sir Sankaran further says that the Government of Lord Chelmsford was wrong in not having put down the non-co-operation movement at its very inception, that Lord Reading's Government also is following the same course and that no Government interested in the welfare of India would follow this policy. Unless Martial Law is resorted to immediately throughout India, his mind will not, perhaps, attain peace! Nor is there ground for thinking that he will cease to strive for the attainment of this object.

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Genl. 21. **Women-suffrage and the Madras Legislative Council.** Adverting to the recent reply of the HOn'ble Mr. K.Srinivasa Ayyanger in the Madras Legislative Council that, owing to the present pecuniary stringency, the task of revising the voter's list with a view to the inclusion of women therein might be attended to, in a year or two, as the same would entail an expenditure of two lakhs of rupees, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd January, remarks that, though it is many months since the resolution was passed in the Council granting suffrage to women, no steps whatever have been taken in respect thereof,

and says:--Although our readers may entertain the idea that no use whatever will result from the Legislative Councils, constituted under the Reforms Act now in force, we can understand from this reply of the honourable member what interest the authorities evince in the matter of granting us our rights! Several unnecessary items of work are going on, without being stopped on account of want of funds and the salaries of high officials too are being enhanced. But, when it comes to a question of increasing the salaries of petty officials who are put to extreme hardship without being able to make both ends meet and of granting the legitimate rights of the people, pecuniary stress stands in the way.

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P.P. 22. Treatment of political prisoners.

Remarking that those who have been closely following the proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council will have no ground for being surprised at the trend of the speeches of certain members on the recent resolution therein on the treatment of political prisoners and at the ultimate fate of that resolution, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd January, writes:--It has become usual in the local Legislative Council to treat every matter as a party question. Though, when Co.Wedgwood interpellated in the House of Commons if political prisoners are treated with respect in India, Mr.Montagu gave the usual evasive reply, yet from the fact of certain improvements having been effected in the prison rules by several provincial governments, it is to be inferred that a confidential communication should have been sent by him on the subject to the Government of India. But Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar, who figures as the head of that party in the local Legislative Council, which professes to be the democratic party remarked, without understanding the import of the term 'political

prisoners, that he would never put up with the respectful treatment of those who committed so much mischief on the day of the landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Madras. The public complain, on the contrary, that no punishment has been meted out as yet to those that committed mischief in the City, to those that pelted stones from the upper storey of the Pachaiyappa's College and to those that instigated them to do so. Such persons will never constitute political prisoners, nor will any member of the public sympathise with them. They will surely be regarded as highly wicked persons working harm to the society itself. We cannot, however, blame Sir Pitty or those who opposed the resolution, for; as it is the public that sent them as representatives, it is the former alone that responsible for the insult thus offered by the latter. Perhaps, it was the intention of Sir Pitty to be beforehand in the matter and to accuse the no-co-operators openly in the Council as having been the delinquents on the day of the arrival of the Prince. But it is the opinion of a section of the people that the disturbances occurred on that day only as a result of the counter-propaganda carried on by his own party. We are at a loss to understand what connexion there could have been, in his opinion, between those who throw stones and cause disturbance in the streets and those who go to prison in deference to the dictates of their conscience, and it only shows the infirmity of his age that he should have observed that no convenience whatever should be affored to political prisoners, in view of the fact that there are street hooligans in every city. We are in duty bound also to condemn the contentions of the honourable member who is well-versed in law. Our readers can understand that his argument, that it is only the Magistrates that should award punishment in consideration of the status and motive of the accused and that the Government cannot interfere in that matter cannot find support.

Can the Hon'ble Mr.K.Srinivasa Ayyahger say precisely if the punishments awarded to Janab Yakub Hasan, Abdul Majeed Sharar and others by the Magistrates, are in consonance with their status and qualifications? As a matter of fact, political prisoners are being treated like ordinary criminals and Mr.Ayyanger says that law has made provision for relief in this matter. Is any other instance, more forcible than this, x necessary to show that Madras is more retrogressive than other provinces?

The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd January, publishes a letter writtn by one Subrahmanya Siva who observes that, so long as he remained in Trichiniopoly jail, political prisoners were given proper food and that none of those who were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment were asked to do any work, and adds:-- But the state of affairs in the Madras penitentiary seems to be different, for it is said that grinding ragi, which is one of the hardest of tasks in prison, is assigned to Mr. Hanumanta Rao of Tanjore who has been convicted for sediton. But, as political prisoners undergo prison-life only for the sake of their conscience and not for any harmful offences, every civilized Government is bound to treat them with dignity and respect.

The treatment of political prisoners.

Appreciating the sagacity with which the members of non-Brahman party who are in the Legislative Council acted with reference to the resolution moved by Mr.C.V.Venkataramana Ayyanger about the treatment of political prisoners, the Dravidan, of the 24th January, lays ot down as the view of its party that the resolution was not clearly worded and adds:--

No one can accept the view that all political offenders should be treated as first class misdemeanants in in England. There are several grades in political offences and

punishment is awarded in accordance with the nature of the offences. It is patent that this resolution emanated in connexion with those convicted with reference to the non-co-operation movement. It is very few indeed that really follow the principle of non-co-operation as enunciated by Mr. Gandhi and we do not deny that these few are actuated by a sincere national spirit and are prepared to put up with any troubles. If the resolution had referred to such men as Dr.Das and Mr. Moti Lal Nehru, who belong to this group, our party in the Legislative Council would have raised no objection. But who will agree to class, as first class misdemeanants, such mean minded people as create disturbances, induced by mischievous political agitators? If this resolution had been passed, there is no doubt that it would have led to much misery in the country.

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N.C.S. 23. Remarking that Anglo-Indian papers and their correspondents are adopting several tactics in order to throw cold water on the vehemence with which Indians are now pursuing the boycott of foreign cloth, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th January, refers to the statement of the Calcutta correspondent of the Times of India that certain Afghans, on learning the secret of many ~~Marwaris~~ Marwaris of Calcutta having stopped their trade in foreign cloth, have opened shops in Burra Bazaar to take up that trade and that, as the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth canot avail with them, it is only the Marwaris that will lost trade, and writes:--The Congress is evincing deep interest in the matter of spreading the spinning of yarn with the hand-wheel and the weaving of cloth with the aid of the hand-loom in order to bring about a position in which

The boycott of foreign cloth.

we can be provided with cloth sufficient for our needs. And if this spirit takes hold of the popular mind, no xxx detriment whatever will arise from the Afghans or the British commencing trade in foreign cloth and these very merchants will realize, within a short time, that such trade is profitless and stop the same. We trust, therefore, that our countrymen will not be deluded by the alluring words uttered or the crocodile tears shed, by the Anglo-Indian papers in furtherance of their selfish interests.

Sir P.C.Ray's resolution.

24. In an article under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 14th January, writes the following effect:--The well known chemist, Sir P.C.Ray, has been resolved to expel for ever the famine that has been devastating his Kulna district by the application of the charka which is God Vishnu's disc weapon.......While he has adopted that resolution Rao Bahadur K.Venkat Reddi Nayudu Garu, a son of the Andhra country, who presides over the department of Infustries wages a war upon the charke and publishes his extraordinary audacity.

How to get swaraj?

S.R. 30. Under this heading, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th January, writes as follows:--The time for making cold calculations, whether the Indians are fit for swaraj or not, is well-nigh gone. There is none in this world who is not fit for swaraj xxxxxx. Swaraj is indeed the birthright of every human being. It is impossible to experience the fruits of that birthright under a bureaucratic Government like the Indian..... By swaraj is meant the taking possession of India, which

is under foreign domination. First of all, every Indian should give up his slave mentality......When slave mentality ceases to exist, there will be liberty of speech and action... So liberty of speech and action should first be gained. It is for acquiring this liberty that Mahatma Gandhi has showed us the way through his civil disobedience.' By that means we can get liberty; we shall certainly get it. We should learn to obey civil law before we attempt; we shall certainly get it. We should learn to obey civil law before we attempt to disobey the same. It is only the man who obeys law that can understand what disobedience means. It is the duty of man to transgress a law that tends to fetter his liberty of speech and action. For so transgressing, it requires bravery and resoluteness, truth and non-violence and a sense of duty. He should be the same in prosperous and adverse circumstances. In civil disobedience we have trouble but no hapiness. The fruit of civil disobedience is incarceration. Mahatma says:-- that greater liberty exists there the greater the number of troubles we experience, the sooner will be the realization of swaraj. Fro the present, every one should disobey civil law. It means protecting the liberty of speech and action and its result is the experience of trouble. The old pop ular adage no pains no gains, is on all fours here. It is not in the figt of anybody to grant swaraj established by dint of hard labour.....So, it is hoped that all the Indians would give up their slave mentality and adopt civil disobedience for securing liberty of speech and action and if there be such power, may they refuse to pay the taxes due to the Government and obtain swaraj and swaraj, revelling unchecked in the joy of swaraj.

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32. The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th January, says in its leaderatte under this heading:--

The arrest of Andhra leaders.

There has been a great awakening among the masses in the Andhra Country. The people themselves have taken upon them the responsibility of carrying on the swaraj movement and so the arrest of leaders will in no way affect their perseverance. News is received from various quarters that the people are holding meetings violating section 144. When people are contemplating to solve the questions with which the country is encountered, to gag them and stop meetings will not make them to give up their determination, The unrest in the country will abate only when birth-rights are recognised. It is useless to suppress the outward symptoms without removing the real causes of unrest. The sooner the authorities understand this the better. May the arrest of Andhra leaders help the country to reach the goal very soon.

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39. The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th January, writes under this heading:--

The constitution of swaraj

The great war has laid bare the wretchedness of dependent nations, and has brought home to the people the troubles of bondage. This is also the experience of India. The military has the very same disregard to the rights of the Indians as the Governors. All the institutions in India are made use of to vindicate this indifference. The visit of the Prince of Wales proclaims the very same idea. Whatever may be the wishes of the people it has become the practice on the part of the authorities to do their utmost to carry out their object. Although the Congress has opposed the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince in the present circumstances of the country, yet the bureaucracy has justified it with all its might. This self-assertion of the bureaucracy is evident in

every affair of the country. The commotion that is caused by the military in the name of maintenance of peace is an indication of the angle of vision of the authorities. The violence that has been manifested by the Police at Benares and Murshadabad have attracted the attention of Mr.Gandhi. The misdeeds committed by the Europeans at Entally in the name of maintenance of order are indications of the wrethchedness of the Indians. When the authorities lose their heads their acts will create great agitation and be a source of murders and outrages. As the authorities ordinarily follow this course Mr.Gandhi has seen felt the urgency of the establishment of swaraj in the country. When the ideal so fht people express themselves in mere words they meet with the approval of the authorities, but when they translate themselves into action they meet with their indignation and laws, violent acts and rifles will be ready to curb the spirit of the people. Our own countrymen who desire the patronage of the authorities justify their individuality and wins them over to its side. The conferring of the officers of the Ministers on Indians has only strengthened the bonds of the people. The Indian Ministers help the European authorities in maintaining the present system of Government. Though the attitude shown by the Moderates at the Bombay Conference rises above the level of such conditions yet we suspect that the result will be to maintain that system of Government.....The Andhra country has begun to put into effect the most important step in the establishment of swaraj. The people in some places are refusing to pay taxes. Although Mr.Gandhi has preached the non-payment of taxes, yet the Andhra people should not forget his statement that civil disobedience should be carreid on under certain conditions. As stated by Mr.Gandhi the national volunteers should focus their acitivieis in one centre, if success is to be attained in the fight for swaraj. Mr. Gandhi and the working committee have decided to postpone

Conduct of the affairs of the country shows that the placing of our countrymen in positions of the authorities conduces only to the bondage of the country. No sooner they occupy such positions, than the system of government deprives them of their

civil disobedience till the end of this month. It is therefore necessary that in this critical situation the Andhras should conduct themselves with an eye to the interests of swaraj and not in the interests of their own terrotiry merely. Although it is praise-worthy on the part of the Andhras to take the initiative in civil disobedience, yet, it is necessary that they should safeguard the interests of swaraj and concentrate all their strength. Even though their property is distrained, meetings stopped and punishments imposed, they should not waver in their determination, but should discharge their duty with a calm mind and maintain the reputation of the Andhra country. They should patiently carry out the programme of Mr.Gandhi and establish swaraj on the lines indicated.

N.C.S. 42. The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, writes under this heading:--From the fact that the Government have rejected the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr.Iswara Saran and the amendment of Dr.Gour

The stifling of people's aspirations.

it is plain that they will not care for the aspirations of the people. It is not known how under such circumstances there can be a reconciliation between the rulers and the ruled. When the Government reject the desires of all parties in the country they will be held responsible for the present critical situation. From the proceedings of the Indian assembly it willbe understood that the people did not gain anything by the political reforms or the Legislative Councils. As stated by Mr.C.R.Das reforms, which do not protect the birth-rights of the people are meaningless.....It is not strange that the bureaucracy have made the letter of Sir Sankarna Nayar, their support, just in the same way as a drowning man catches at a straw.".....When the Government are in this way flouting

public opinion there can be no doubt that the non-co-operation movement will muster strength and accomplish the wishes of the people ere long. Even the resoluti n recommending the appointment of a committee to consider as to how certain sections of the Indian Penal Code may be amended has been rejected. The mover of this resoluti n was mistaken. If the bureaucracy wills, not only these sections but any other sections may be used to put down the freedom of the people. ...... When the authorities who resorted to severe repression and thus created agitation in the country have rejected even the counsel of the moderates. There is little room left for us to hope that they will grant the wishes of leaders like Mr.Malaviya. It will be advantageous if hereafter at least the moderates give up their mendicant policy, join hands with the non-co-operators and devote themselves to the realization of the country's desire. One's slavation is in one's own hands. When the Indian nation has made up its mind no body can stand in its way.

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N.C.S. 43. The Secretary to the Andhra Provincial Committee, Guntur wires to the Andhrapatrika, of the 21st January, to the following effect:--While a volunteer by name Gopalakrishnayya was requesting the crowd that collected to see the sepoys, to disperse, he was pushed down and kicked by the sepoys. He was taken to the hospital. They pursued a Muhammadan and gave a slap on his cheek. We learn that a greater number of sepoys raped a Vadde Uppara woman to death. The people are still peaceful.

Sepoys at Guntur.

R.T.C. 44. The Nyaya Dipika, of the 20th January, expresses its disappointment at the rejection of the proposal to call for a Round table Conference in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State, and its disapproval of the opinion of some officers that the prestige of the Government will suffer if they call for such a conference. It fears that by this rejection popular leaders may grow despondent and fall into the snares of Mr.Gandhi.

The Round-table conference.

S.R. 45. The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, says:--The number of arrests in the Godavari district shows that the teachings of the leaders are bearing fruits. As the Congress Programme is in full swing even in Vizianagar a great number of arrests are taking place there. The meetings held by the people violating the orders of the Government to stop them, show that the Andhra country cannot bear to be gagged. The question of the non-payment of taxes is under consideration, in various parts of the Andhra country.......Troops have arrived now at Guntur. We cannot see what purpose they will serve in a country where the people conduct themselves without violence even under great provocation.

The situation in the Andhra country.

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46. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, reports Mr.Venkatappayya to have stated in an appeal he made to the people:-- If our movement spreads apace all over the districts and we refuse to pay taxes and stand firm to the

An exhortation to the people.

last, swaraj will certainly come.....Our country is being melted in the crucible of the non-co-operation movement. Unless it is subjected to such severe heat the baser metal in our Government will not be destroyed.......The Government are very much agitated. Without knowing what to do they are behaving like mad men.

An exhortation to the people.

The Arya Vysya, of the 12th January, reproduces a Telugu verse from a book entitled "The First Representative Conference" in which the author makes the following exhortation to the people:--While every day volunteers, women and students are goint to the jail and while popular leaders like Mr.Das are suffering imprisonment, will you, O! people of India! live and be passive on-lookers "will you not maintain your honour?"

A sign of civilisation.

N.C.S. 47. The Andhrapatrika, of the 21st January, says in its leader under this heading:--In all civilized, countries a difference is made in the treatment of political prisoners and ordinary offenders. In the west, Governments treat their political apponents with gre t regard. But as the conditions in India are different, the authorities also conduct themselves differently. The unofficial members in the Madras Legislative Council, who belong to the Justice Party have condemned the self-sacrifice of their countrymen and stated that they should be subjected to difficulties. This is an indication of the pride of power. The resolution only suggests the primary duty of the Government and no civilized Governments has disregarded this duty.......The impression prevails in

Mxxxxx

Madras that the riots in Madras have been due to the animosity that has existed between the Adi-dravidas and others for some time past. Instead of a union being effected between the various sects, attempts are being made to encourage the causes of differences.......This is the only reason for the miserable condition of Madras. It is gradifying that the members who do not belong to the Justice Party have spoken with a sense of justice. It is not to be expected that the Madras Legislative Council will on the whole behave more generously. If the Justice Party wish to join hands with the authorities and subject the non-co-operators to various troubles, they can now accomplish their object. They can wreak their unreasonable vengeance on them. There is nothing to hinder them; but if they consider that by severe punishments they can efface the non-co-operation movement and make the people yield, they are quiet mistaken.

Cherukuvada Venkata Narasimham Pantulu.

50. Referring to the arrest of Cherukuvada Narasimham Pantulu and appreciating the work he has done in the cause of non-co-operation the Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd January, remarks:--

When people are considering the question of non-payment of taxes, it is dangerous to Government that Narasimham Pantulu should be at large. So, he has been removed from the arena. The Andhras congratulate him on the rest that he now secured. His example must encourage the people of the Kistna district, to set about to work at this juncture like him. We hope that his place will be taken by many and that the people will show by example that though they have been deprived of their physical freedom, the spirit of independence will spread with redoubled force.

Genl. 55. The Kanthirava, of the 17th January, publishes the following as a soliloquy of the

A soliloquy.

as a soliloquy of the Prince of of Wales:-- I have been most indiscreet in coming over to this country against the wishes of the Indian politicians. The people of this country say that they bear no grudge against my person. But what does it avail?

It is the Government of India that have duped me. Had I followed the advice of the Indian newspapers, matters would not have taken such a turn.

It would have been far better for me had I come over to this country last year only. How blessed would I be if I had the power of granting independence to India! What is past is past. People deem me to be the cause of the present repression. My visit to this country, instead of creating peace and contentment, has only ended in disaffection and repression.

I have read in many Indian books of the release of prisoners in honour of royal visits, but my visit has been signalized only by the incessant closure of the doors of the jails. Even a poor coolie is very happy and joyful. He finds people to welcome him wherever he goes. No one observes hartal in his case. How I wish I were a coolie to-day!

Enough of this visit and this welcome, with all its entertainments and dances. Better that I return home as early as possible. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" has undoubtedly proved true in my case.

R.T.C. 60. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 20th January, in the course of a lengthy communicated English article under this heading observes:--"........The Jingo rulers in India are now unparalleled autocrats. They have driven the people to become unparalleled extremists. The churning of the Indian ocean has commenced. The Anglo-Indians with their puppets, both official and non-official are on one side. The extremist Indians, with a grim determination to end or mend their oppressors are on the other side. Their process of churning has produced poison. The extremists have become the victims of it. The jails of India canot provide them with shelter. The Government of India cannot provide all of them even with ragi pudding and comfortable kamblis to keep them warn against the inclemencies of the weather. If this is a godless world, all this will go unnoticed and unpunished. If it is a world, for the good Government of which God holds the rulers responsible, then a day of reckoning must come, sooner or later. I think it has already come. I see it in the unexpected combination of the people representing antagonistic castes, colours and creeds. The Jingo autocracy of India have landed themselves in inextricable difficulties. It is high time that the British Government so noted for its policy of justice and fair play, should open their eyes. His Majesty the King-Emperor should at once send a message of peace and good-will to India. The Government of India should be commanded to meet the leaders of the people in a Round-table Conference and submit the resolutions arrived at for disposal to His Majesty. This is the only way of escape from the political whirlpoor into which the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats have plunged India. There is a tendency, a pronounced tendency, among the majority of the people in the Indian Empire, to be within the Empire........Lord Morley

The present political situation.

wrote his Century of Revolutions'. But no revolution that he has described in his immortal book deserves to bear comparison eith the Indian revolution that is gathering strength in the womb of time. I hail this revolution...... The enemies of the British Em;ire are not Indian extremists. It is the Anglo-Indian Jingoes that have brought the greatest disgrace to British name and fame. They meant to end British justice and intended to raise on its ruins anx absolute Anglo-Indian autocracy. The foundations of this autocracy have received a rude shock. Ruder shocks seem to be still in store. It is wisdom on their part to review their position and mend themselves and thus disarm nemesis which threatens to overtake them in their criminal career."

Comml 61. The Manorama, of the 20th January, and the Kerala Patrika, of the 14th and the 21st January, point out that, in spite of the arrest and shooting of the Mappilla ringleaders, plunder and looting of the Hindus are going on in Ernad and Walluwanad and in xxxxx some parts of the Calucut taluk and that consequently Hindus find those places still far too insecure for them to settle down in, as evidenced by the return of fugitives from Ernad. The papers therefore dwell upon the necessity of stationing the Military within the rebel area permanently or at any rate till peace and tranquillity are satisfactorily restored.

The Malabar situation.

In the course of an article under the heading "the Mappilla outbreak" the Swarat, of the 12th January, makes the following among other remarks:--There is no room to think that the announcement in Government communiques regarding the arrest of the Mappilla leaders will alone restore peace and tranquillity in the rebel area, for we learn on inquiry that the people of the area suffered more harm at the hands

of the police and the military than from the rebels, and that a large majority of those who left their homes did so because of the fear of the Government people.......The Government arrogantly refused to grant the request of the Congress leaders to visit the place for quelling the riot, because they apprehended that the influence of the Congress would increase, that the Hindu-Moslem unity would be strengthened and more particularly that the riot would be quelled soon. We boldly contend that the continuance of the riot ~~xxxxxxbexquelled~~ for such a long time and the various hardships suffered by the people are due to the foolhardy, foolish and autocratic harshness and severity on the part of the Government and their underlings. If this be not so, and if the Government do not wish to hide the truth, let them immediately appoint an impartial committee of inquiry.

<u>For the week ending 4th February 1922.</u>

<u>NO. 5 OF 1922.</u>

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col. 1. Indians in the Colonies.

Swarajya, of the 29th January, writes:--"It is now established beyond all doubt that negotiations cannot put an end to the sufferings of our countrymen overseas. The absence of a free Government in India is a powerful handicap to any negotiations with the dominions or the other colonies. Besides the question is not one of adjustment between any two Governments but between two different peoples. It is a race conflict. Racil segregation is the keynote of the problem. The arrogant assumption of superiority is a habit of mind with the white colonist.

That is why even solemn promises made to our countrymen are thought fit to be broken everywhere........We have concentrated on the struggle in India in the hope that our victory in it, would solve the knotty problem of our countrymen abroad. The futility of negotiations is more than ever apparent. It is hardly possible for the Government in Great Britain to resist the temptation of yielding to the colonists. The Government of India, though it may look upon the question with a spirit of impartiality and detachment, can do very little to safeguard the rights of Indians even in newly founded colonies like Kenya. In the case of powerful dominions like South Africa, its influence is nothing. The responsibility for all the suffering of our countrymen abroad rests on us and we have to bear in mind that any slackening of our efforts in the present struggle will only prolong their suffering and trouble."

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2. The Hindu, of the 31st January, writes:--"Mr.Churchill has at last made a definite statement of the British policy in East Africa. He has prefixed his announcement with such a bright picture of the jinjoist ideal that even charity would hesitate to accept the best part of his policy at face value. He is disconcerted that African and Asiatic countries should presume to ask of Britain for self-rule... There was never much hope that Britain would choose to defy the clamant selfishness of the White Kenyans and the prospect of an equitable ideal receded further still when this bouncing politician with his astounding record descended to the Colonial office. Mr.Churchill's speech at the East African dinner is not therefore an absolute surprise, but it is a painful mockery in view of the fact that the Indians in East Africa recently agreed to a compromise solution of their

Indians in Kenya.

problem in expectation of eventual final settlement......The impression made by the announcement of the policy was unmistakably evident in the subsequent speech by Lord Delamere, the representative of the European settlers. This gentleman was not satisfied with Mr.Churchill's promise that Indian immigration should be strictly regulated, he hoped that strict regulation was only a euphemism for absolute prohibition. Probably Mr.Churchill himself meant as much, and his other remarks in respect of the Indian problem do not preclude this inference. The only concession he is willing to give the Indian intruder is this--that if according to the European standard he can be adjudged as civilized he will be allowed the privilege of civic and political rights. Barring the individuals so sifted out, all the rest of the non-white hordes are to remain as helots! So much about political rights.......These are the essentials of the policy which the Colonial office has skimmed out of a tense situation over which, as India understood it, the Imperial Government has been pondering long with much concern. The venom of South Africa is much too evident in it all. Whites are whites every-where and the fact that Indians in Kenya were earlier in the field, or superior in numbers or reasonable in their demands is no point beside the claims of the European exploiter."

New India, of the 2nd February, has the following:--"It looks as though South Africa were intent on bringing about the disruption of the Empire. It may be well for them to ask themselves whether they are prepared to stand alone in Africa, and defend themselves against the Indian and the African population. The settlers in East Africa are treading the same road. Most of the fighting there was done by Indian soldiers, who saved them from the German menace, and made their position in East Africa secure. They show their gratitude by denying freedom to the countrymen of those who secured their own liberty. They probably forget that

Islam in Africa is a rapidly growing faith, and will form a strong bond of union among hitherto warring tribes. An Islamic Empire in Africa is by no means impossible, and Englishmen in Africa are making it impossible for Indians to fight on that continent for the British against the African Muslims."

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

N.C.S. 4. Writing under this heading, the Wednesday Review, of the 25th January, observes:--

The British Press on the Indian situation.

"The Times has all along supported Mr.Montagu in his Indian policy but it has begun to doubt its wisdom after the happenings at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras during the Prince's visit. Lord Northcliffe in a statement which he issued to the Bombay Press says that no one who has previously visited India can be happy at the contrast afforded by the present situation. The remark is significant and it must help the Times to understand the situation better. The Nation which is not a friend of the British bureaucracy is of opinion that our responsibility for those people of India who have no experience or capacity for Government cannot be abandoned.' Though it says it is against the stringent measures which the Morning Post recommends against Mr.Gandhi, the Nation warns the leaders of non-co-operation if it should prove impossible to allow Mr.Gandhi at present to remain in India the friends of Indian self-government here could not resist that course. It means that British public opinion is rapidly coming round to the view that non-co-operation has been suffered to go too far and it was time that an effective curb was put on it. The observer recognizes that Mr.Gandhi's campaign can only result in anarchy and wants

that Lord Reading's hands should be strengthened in a policy of firmness. The British Press has not awakened a day too soon to the realities of the situation here, and we hope that its awakening will help in freeing India of the elements of disorder which have brought her to the very verge of bolshevism."

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General. 5. The following appears in Justice, dated the 2nd

Khil.

~~Februaryxxxxxxxxxxx~~ February:--"We may, at the very outset, congratulate his Lordship on the remarkable powers of insight and observation which he has brought to bear upon his investigation of the problem. It is not every English journalist who is able, in so short time, to gain such a masterly grip of the facts as his Lordship gives ample evidence of in his statement issued to the associated press on the eve of his sailing. In fact, the situation is so complex and aggravated by so many factors that it shall not be a surprise to anyone even if the real issues involved were to escape the notice of even studious observers. His Lordship, however, has not failed in his effort to grasp the central fact appertaining to the situation which confronts the Government of India to-day. 'Peace cannot be ensured,' says his Lordship, until the Muslim question is adjusted'. This, as our readers will remember, is what we ourselves have often stated in these columns. The non-co-operators would have ceased to count and been discredited long ago were it not for the fact that they had taken care to identify themselves with the Khilafatists. There is not a single Mussalman in India who does not resent, and that vehemently too, the attitude of the British Government towards the Khilafat question. The treaty of Sevres has been condemned on all hands, and it is the strong belief of our Mussalman brethren that its terms are so unjust and iniquitous that they can, under no circumstances, be acceptable

to Turkey. Added to this is the widespread suspicion that the British Cabinet has been pro-Hellenic in its sympathies all through the recent fighting between the Kemalists and the Greeks......How this large volume of enbittered Muslim feeling can be conciliated and how Britain can once again establish herself in the affections of her Mussalman subjects is thus the question that has to be solved primarily in the interests of peace and tranquillity in India.... The question of the moment is as to whether Great Britain is now in a mood to reconsider her attitude towards Turkey and revise her opinions in regard the treaty of Sevres. Every one is anxious for a complete and rapid settlement of the issues now disturbing Muslim minds in India, and it will be a great thing indeed if the warning sounded by Lord Northcliffe is heeded by Britain and she hastens to bring order out of the chaos now reigning supreme in the Near and Middle East."

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III.--LEGISLATION.

N.C.S. 6. Swarajya, of the 30th January, writes:--"Official intelligence at Delhi has been for sometime devising new laws to deal with coercion and intimidations.

Police Protection Bill.

The new Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly in fulfilment of the promise made to it only a week ago, to deal with the tampering of police loyalty is the first of a series which we are shortly to face. The ostensible purpose of this piece of legislation is to deal with attempts made by non-co-operators to spread disaffection in the ranks of the police. The Home Member told the House that leaflets had been issued to the police directly asking them to abstain and they had already affected the morale of the police.' The Bombay manifesto issued over the signatures

of all the leaders of this country, soon after the Karachi trial, asserted our right to express our opinions that service under the present Government, civil or military, was derogatory to national dignity and self-respect. Since then the Congress has not made any direct appeal to the police or military forces as such, for it recognized that it had not the necessary means to provide for all those who in response to its call would give up service. The desire for freedom in India is universal. Even the police forces have come under the influence of the wave of the new feeling that is spreading over the country. The downward course that that repression is now taking is slowly but surely driving home among them the truth that their co-operation with the Government, is retarding the progress of freedom........The Government has not been slack in taking precautions to keep them out of the reach of sedition. It does not see that the discontent now existing in its ranks, is of its own creation........The new Bill makes provision for two years' R.I. for the same offence. It is a strange mentality that argues for severe punishments, to arrest the pace of a non-violent propaganda. Our administrators are creating a new set of laws on the model of the Draconian Code. Not all the severity or rigour in the infliction or execution of punishments, will ever succeed in frightening the people into abandoning lawful Congress activity."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(I) Salt and Abkari.

Pro. 19. Commenting on the report of the Abkari department for the year 1921, the Yogakshemam, of the 27th January, refers to the enormous increase of the abkari revenue, during the last nine years, points out that it was the British Government that established liquor shops in every village and that the importation of foreign liquor, qorth several lakhs, cannot be attributed entirely to motives of philanthropy and observes that it is high time for the Government to change their policy regarding intoxicants.

The Abkari policy of the Government.

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Cong. 22. Remarking that the thin veneer on the weapons of the violent' opponents of the Indians which are the courts of justice, educational institutions and legislative bodies, will certainly disappear the moment when people resort to the boycott of the same, a correspondent under the non-de-plume of Aswadhaman writes to the Tamil Nadu, of the 1st January(received on the 27th January), as follows:--If those institutions produce true justice and true wisdom and laws conductive to the advancement of the people, they will of course be highly beneficial to us; but there is no chance of such results, as will be seen from the demonstration made by Mr.Bara Karttar Singh who has recently been convicted, and from Mr.Nehru's statement, to the effect that there is no justice at all in the British tribunals. Other instances of this fact are that, while Dr.P.Varadarajuly Nayudu had to go to jail in his capacity

The Congress programme.

of the editor when it was only Mr.Gopala Achariyar that wrote the article in question, the editor of the Hindu is let off scot-free whereas Mr. Ramaswami Ayyangar, the correspondent, is being prosecuted for sedition for publishing an article therein. Again, while every branch of the Congress reiterated the resolution passed at Karachi, it was only the Ali brothers that were punished. When all these things are considered either superficially or with scrutiny, one can say without hesitation that there is absolute absence of justice. But though, mostly, it is only our own men that work hard to settle disputes in the courts of justice, they are unable to administer proper justice, once they sit in the capacity of 'Government officers', as it is not easy for them to contravene the confidential orders and warnings of their superiors and, if perhaps they so contravene, they will lose their posts......Coming to the Department of Education, it does not permit the introduction of spinning wheels in schools which is widely desired by the country as, in its opinion, they have some political significance, nor will it allow the students under it to wear the Gandhi cap. Further, the headmasters are rightly afraid of allowing their students to participate in national functions, as the department is perverse. But are they to sell away their conscience on that account? It is only taking all these facts into consideration that we insist on the boycott of schools. Hence, we must decline to avail ourselves of the aid of the Government and impart instruction perfect liberty, for the school is a temple and not at all the abode of slaves. Coming, in conclusion, to the Legislative bodies, the Governor may veto a good resolution passed by our representatives as he cares only for the interests of the administration, the trend of which is always contrary to the aspirations of the public. Hence Mr.Gandhi says that there is a venomous atmosphere in the Legislative

Councils. Had the community accepted the boycott of these three kinds of institutions and worked therefor, swaraj would have been visible in India by this time. As it is otherwise, we are in such a position as to expect only the lustre of it. Nevertheless, our party is certainly growing strong as days advance.

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N.C.S. 23. The present situation. Remarking that there are numerous people out now both in India and England to offer bad advice to the Viceroy and that, if the latter should act on the suggestions of many Anglo-Indian papers, a situation would arise in which every Indian would wish for the complete severance of India from England, the Swadesamitran, of the 27th January, observes:--It is only the Viceroy and not these papers that will be-come answerable for the consequences of acting according to their advice. They do not bestow any thought on the serious consequences that may result from giving wrong advice at critical times. Let Lord Reading note, in this connection, how Lord Canning woke up after the disturbance in 1858 and admitted that he was duped by the words of evil advisers. We can excuse evil advice on the part of those who are ignorant of facts. But, as the Viceroy is a man on the spot is personally aware of the real situation, we hope he will seek suitable remedial measures without paying heed to the venomous suggestions of the Anglo-Indian and British Journals. He ought to have realised during the last few days what the exact situation is. Though the Anglo-Indian and the British papers want that the repressive policy should be strengthened and that Mr.Gandhi should be dealt with severely, the Viceroy cannot but be aware that the leaders and the representatives of the Indian public hate the policy of repression. While Pandit Madan Mohan

Malaviya is making great efforts to bring about the Round-table Conference and a compromise between the Government and the peophe, his son Mr.Radakanta Malaviya becoming disgusted with the obstinate and unrelenting ways of the Government ~~Government~~ of the United Provinces has resigned his seat on the Legislative Council of that Government. Many of the representative members voted in favour of the resolution moved in the Legislative Assembly condemning the repressive policy of the Government and it appears all the non-official members voted in favour of the resolution moved in the legislative Council of Bihar to put a stop to the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The Viceroy should note who it was that voted against the Government in both the above cases. All of these are moderates who have been supporting the Government ever since the inauguration of the reforms. They are now foremost in condemning the policy of the Government. Even members of the Legislative Assembly boycotted by the people at present, have tried to give effect at once to the principle of self-government that the Government should hereafter act according to the wishes of the people in all matters and passed a resolution that the Viceroy should permit all items in the annual budget to be placed before the Assembly. We hope the Viceroy will realise what this connotes. As for the position of the common people, the Viceroy ought to have understood how enthusiasitc the people are in serving the country by making sacrifices and undergoing hardships in connexion with civil disobedience such as non-payment of taxes. He should note also with what difficulty the leaders are controlling the people and preventing them from resorting to violence. It has already been proved that multitudes are ready to undergo any hardships in case their birth-rights are to be deprived by means of repressive measures. In these circumstances, we hope the Viceroy will ponder over and

and decide whether he is to strength the repressive measures as advised by the Anglo-Indian papers or to satisfy the aspirations of the people of the country.

Referring to the instruction of the Congress from the beginning that, of all the items on the non-co-operation programme, that relating to non-payment of taxes should be reserved to the end, the Tamil Nadu, of the 29th January, points out that the whole movement will certainly fail, in case this item is carried out by the masses who are devoid of great self-control and patience and a spirit of non-ciolence and that Mr.Gandhi has given the same warning to those in the Andhra country who have started non-payment of taxes and observes:--It is but natural that many are willing to stop the payment of taxes which they have been paying regularly year after year and this appears to be a very easy matter. But a deep consideration will make it plain that the people will have to suffer serious hardships on account of this. Unless the common people acquire the strength to put up with these without the slightest ruffle or anger, there is no use in our starting this campaign. So we have to arrive at a decision on this matter of taking up arms against the bureaucracy only after mature deliberation; for, if those unfit for using this weapon take to it, it will prove dangerous to themselves, while if we resort to it after getting fully equipped we can surely crush the enemy that very moment.

Non-payment of taxes.

A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th January, writes:--The authorities have set on foot the policy of repression without paying any regard to public opinion. The formation of peace armies has been held criminal. As a result of this the determination,

of non-co-operators in Northern India has been put to the test. The Government themselves have encouraged them to adopt universal civil disobedience.......It is only after deep consideration that the people in some parts of the Andhra country have made up their minds not to pay taxes. Last month the Government have exhibited their demoniacal strength. They are again exhibiting such strength perhaps believing that, out of fear for them, the people will give up their determination; but the calmness of mind and the renunciation of the people shows that they are determined to attain swaraj at all costs. The telegram sent by Mahatma Gandhi on the question of non-payment of taxes has lent new life to the Andhras. May they raise the standard of swaraj with redoubled force, maintaining their determination under the benedication of Mahatma Gandhi. It will be well if, instead of the whole country starting civil disobedience the Andhras confine their energies to certain parts only. When words are translated into action the Government will try to curb the spirit of the people by all means. We must therefore be prepared for any emergency. Whenever there is a call for the volunteers at any corner of the country they have to go there at once. The leaders must also be prepared to go anywhere. As the people of Palnad, Ongole, Tenali and Bhimavaram taluks are ready to resort to civil disobedience and have set it on foot, they cannot be prevented. And so the people of the remaining taluks must only enlist volunteers and he prepared to respond to the call of the country at any moment. Nothing more is necessary. I hope that the Andhras will work for the establishment of swaraj manifestigg an amount of energy which is commensurate with their enthusiasm.

P.P. 27. Remarking that the ways of the bureaucrats are gradually becoming curious, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th January refers to the differential treatment being given to political prisoners convicted for the same kind of offence in the United Provinces, and observes:--It is possible that the authorities adopt this as a device to create a split among those within the jails and among those outside. But there is no doubt that they will get disappointed in the end.

Treatment of political prisoners.

The Navasakti, of the 27th January, refers to the recent defeat of the resolution in the Madras Legislative Council for the differential treatment of political prisoners and stating that it is at a loss to understand aright the attitude of the members of that Council and doubting whether the party now in power thinks that it can do anything it pleases to any one with the aid of the powers it now possesses, adds:--It is certainly the principle of mankind that every man should cherish love towards every other fellow-being, however much the opinion of the other differs from that of his own. This again is the underlying principle of democracy. But the democratic party' in Madras has, owing to the craze of co-operation having obtained dominance in its brains, resolved not to apply this principle to its political opponents! This party has spoken as it pleased, under the illusion that the term political prisoners' meant non-co-operators. Let our friends consider carefully the futility or otherwise of the Madras Legislative Council, from the fact of the aforesaid resolution having been thrown out. But the defeat thereof indicates only the victory of the non-co-operation movement.

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 28th January, commenting

on the equality of treatment shown to political prisoners and other offenders asks while some privileges are shown to political offenders in the matter of dress, food and receiving their friends why should not the same treatment be shown to the Khilafat and Congress volunteers and especially to Muhammadans.

Treatment of political prisoners.

Khil. 32. Remarking that Lord Northcliffe was the guest of the Government for a few days in Madras, Delhi and other places in India at the expense of the poor Indian tax-payer, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th January, writes:--No one knows of his having associated or conversed with any person outside the Government in India. Had he wishes to ascertain the truth impartially and publish the same, he should have learnt the views of the nationalists also by conversing with some of them. But it is not at all usual for him or men of his ilk to do so. Sir Velentine Chirol, who did the same thing as Lord Northcliffe, in the past, acknowledged, recently, that the opinions expressed by him then were wrong. But we do not know when Lord Northcliffe will make a similar admission? From the manner in which he begins his communcation, he seems to be filled with the arrogance and the mean-mindedness which are possessed by many Britishers. He states that he is taken aback at the change of attitude that he now finds in Hindus and the Muhammadans towards Europeans from what it was twenty-one years ago when he had come here and that, while the former were then afraid of the latter, they have now realised that they own equal rights and want to conduct themselves with the latter on that basis. None but those that wish to keep foreign nations always under subjection, will be shocked by

Lord Northcliffe.

this change. Further, he says that he was panic-striken at sight of many Muhammadans wearing white caps which, in his opinion, betoken allegiance to the principles of Mr.Gandhi and suggests therefore that the Muhammadans should be satisfied and drawn away from the Hindus. And if the British statesmen listen to his suggestion, act upon it and dispose of the Khilafat question according to the demands of the Muhammadans, we may, afterwards, get rid of the difficulties that may arise therefrom. Indians wish for that very thing. Had Lord Northcliffe interviewed Muhammadan nationalists, he would have learnt that the Muhammadans would not desert the Hindus even if the Khilafat wrongs were redressed separately. If justice is rendered to the Khailafat, it will naturally be easy to win swaraj and if swaraj is attained, justice can be obtained for the Khilafat and it is indeed the opinion of the Hindu and the Muslim leaders that both these are inter-dependent. Now, whatever may be results of the Khilafat question being disposed of to the satisfaction of the Muslims, if the Government in India are caught in the net of such mischief-makers as these, the difficulties of the former will only increase and India will not attain peace. The only right course for them will be to respect the populace and satisfy their aspirations. Lord Northcliffe goes on to state that the same condition as existed at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 obtains now, but that the people are not as peaceful now as they then were, because there is much unrest amongst them on account of the principles of Mr.Gandhi and the agitation in regard to the Khilagat. He has thus endeavoured, in his communication, to cause panic amongst the British public and thereby to induce the Government of India to crush the country and has suggested, as a remedy for this state of affairs, the disposal of the Khilafat question according to the wishes of the Musalmans

and the crushing of the Hindu leaders. He thinks that the moderates will then entirely join the party of the Government. Lord Northcliffe seems to think that the moderates are a party having no self-respect. But the Bombay Conference has made it clear that they will never join the party of the Government, as prophesied by him, when the nationalist party is crushed with rigour. Though he himself does not know this fact, the Government can have a knowledge thereof. And we are in duty bound to warn him and those in India who hold the same opinion that, even if a few more should unexpectedly join the Government, the nationalist party cannot be destroyed.

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R.T.C. 37. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th January, writes:--The situation in the country unmistakably shows the futility of a repressive policy; Those who are anxious to have a Round-table Conference are co-operators and not non-co-operators. If even they are not satisfied by the Government there will be no room in this country for the co-operation party. There is no end to the arrests made in the country. They have been a source of pleasure to the non-co-operators and have served as a means to promote their movement and create a stir the like of which was not known before. Though Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to give up mass civil disobedience the Government have not given up their repressive policy. Though the non-co-operators think that much will not be gained from the holding of a Round-table Conference, yet they do not stand in its way. But the Government do not give up their obstinacy, but are creating an atmosphere unfavourable to reconciliation. We hope that even under such adverse conditions a Round-table Conference will meet and

Round-table Conference.

settle the Indian question in accordance with the wishes of the people. If the Government reject the advice of even the co-operators and rely mainly upon their repressive policy the people will accomplish their object by following the programme laid down by the Congress.

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N.C.S. 38. Remarking that, though the resignation of their appointments by Government servants is one of the items on the non-co-operation programme, the Congress has not issued an order in this behalf only under the impression that it is improper to do so without making some provision for the livelihood of those that may give up their appointments under the Government, the Tamil Nadu, of the 29th January, observes:--The Congress will issue instructions in this matter as soon as suitable arrangements have been made, when it is hoped who can afford to earn a livelihood in other ways should resign their posts under Government even now. In many parts of India, several Government servants are resigning their posts unable to tolerate the high-handed acts of the bureaucracy and this movement is making special progress in the Andhra country. Two sub-Inspectors of Police, in the Chittoor district, have resigned their posts unwilling to carry out the repressive measures dictated by their superiors, and their sacrifice and patriotism are really commendable. If all the Indian members of the Police Force working under the bureaucracy attach importance to their own conscience and immediately follow the footsteps of these two patriots, it is certain that the keen edge of repression will become blunt.

Resignation of Government servants.

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S.R. 41. The Andhrapatrika, of the 25th January, says in its leader:--The prisoners in the Andhra country are proclaiming the swaraj spirit, condemning bureaucratic authority and preaching to the Magistrates fearlessly the duty of the Government.

Swaraj enthusiasm in the Andhra country.

The fact that these people have left their kitch and kin and have entered the swaraj hermitage shows how the fortress of Government is being broken and with what quick pace swaraj is established. The desire for swaraj on the part of men and women of all classes has made them resign themselves to all sorts of privations including officers which are the means of bondage. Although the authorities incessantly contend that this situation is the result of evil preaching and will lead to great catastrophe ~~it,xwixx~~ it will be seen from experience that this contention is groundless. The attempt on the part of the Government to promote the causes of unrest and thus establish peace is unfair. But yet the Government are following such a course. The opposition on the part of the Government only increases the opposition on the part of the people. Those, who have met with success in getting these imprisonments and sentences, are coming forward and are beginning to refuse to pay taxes. The authorities are using their powers to break the force of the people. They will give up their usual methods of distraint of property for recovering arrears of revenue and will sell the land itself. When there is true agitation among the people no arrests can quell it. All devices of the Government will prove futile. That the authorities will buy land and that the depressed classes will cultivate it is impracticable. It is difficult for others to cultivate lands in a region deserted by its ryots. The whole country will groan under a course and will languish without ~~xyxxxxxxThe whole~~ crops. Although the authorities may create differences by all means they will not stand. No device, which is characterised

by the self-interestedness of the authorities will succeed. People who have been living in mutual friendship for a long time will not stoop to quarrels and unjust occupation. Those who have been congratulating the renouncers of comfort will congratulate the renouncers of property also and will not be so greedy as to possess it. The proposal policy of the Government in the matter of the non-payment of taxes may lead to confusion but time will show that the object of the policy will not be fulfilled..........Though it may be found that non-co-operation is a means of success the Andhras will do well to concentrate all their energies in one centre: They should know that it is useless for the people of the different regions to start civil disobedience each in his own village.

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N.C.S.42. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th January, writes under this

To pay or not to pay taxes? heading:--Everybody knows that the programme of non-co-operation started with the intention of changing the system of Government if possible or ending it has begun with the renunciation of titles and ended with the non-payment of taxes. So the last step in the programme, viz, the non-payment of taxes is a means fixed for the ending of British Raj and not one proposed for altering the bureaucratic system. It is certain that the very day on which we will succeed in our attempt not to pay taxes, on that very day, we shall have severed our connexion with the British Raj. It is also plain that after a separation is effected there can be no question of changing the system of Government, and so this is a Divine weapon prescribed for ending the British Raj by peaceful means. It is not yet our object to put an end to British Raj. The country has not yet agreed to sever its connexion completely, with the British. The Mahatma has said that the Indians are

prepared to come to a settlement with the British Government. Otherwise, as desired by the extremists some would have proclaimed Indian independence. Under such circumstances is it just to wield this weapon, which will completely annul the relationship now obtaining between India and the British Raj. When it is decided that this weapon should be used only for annulling our connexion with the British Raj, we who have not yet agreed to sever such connexion ought not to wield it....When we preach the non-payment of taxes, we should at the same time preach their payment, just in the same way as, when we preach the boycott of foreign cloth, we have also established the swadeshi cloth industry. If without making any such arrangement we only exhort the people not to pay taxes it will not only be objected to by our enemies, but will also be the means of our ruin. If by succeeding in our attempt to refuse taxes we end the British Raj, there should be in its place another Government which will collect the taxes and protect the country. Otherwise, anarchy will overtake the country and lead us to think that the insupportable foreign bureaucracy is preferable. Before we end the British Raj we have to proclaim the independence of India. Otherwise, the leaders who have not the power to collect taxes will have to rest satisfied with the work of destruction. Destruction without construction is not conducive to our well-being........We are not yet determined to proclaim the independence of India. We have not yet given up our faith in British connexion and so it is plain, that under such circumstances it is improper to refuse the payment of taxes. By the attainment of independence is meant the condemning of cruel laws, which thwart the birth-rights of the people and retard the development of national genius and thus destroying the bureaucratic system of Government and making the Government to put on a stainless aspect. It appears that it is for that purpose that civil disobedience has been inaugurated. If we disobey the

the authority that enables the bureaucracy to continue their system of Government, we will be in possession of the independence, which will enable us to develop our national system. That is the object of civil disobedience. For that, we may disobey all cruel laws; but not just laws. By the mere fact that great men devoted to the country's cause had marched to the birth-place of Krishna. We were able to make His Excellency the Viceroy say that he was very much perturbed. If this is continued succcessfully we will be able to make the system of government topple down. This is no exaggeration. So, at a stage when we are about to succeed in our work of civil disobedience, it is not just to inaugurate the refusal of taxes. We should wield that great weapon only to put an end to the Raj. But it is certain that we are yet trying only to change the system of Government, so, it is opposed to justice to refuse to pay taxes at this time. As it is not just and conducive to our welfare not to pay taxes till we consider it impossible to change the British system of Government, we must pay the taxes. I submit that it is the chief duty of non-co-operators to tell the people, who are filled with excitement and enthusiasm to pay their taxes.

CONG. 48. The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th January, makes the following remarks under this heading:-- There is no connexion between the enforcement of a repressive policy, which is a source of pain to the people and the maintenance of law and order. Lord Reading has mistaken one thing for the other. This ignorance is the chief cause of the present critical situation in India. That the people have come to refuse to pay the taxes in order to accomplish their firm object lays bare the nature of administration in

The question of taxes.

in the country........It is a sign of their fitness for self-government that the people are ready to act according to the directions of the Congress. Nothing can stand in the way of the people who show such wonderful capacity, reaching their goad soon.

N.C.S. 46. The Godavaripatrika, of the 24th January, says under this heading:-- In connexion with the movement for the non-payment of taxes the Government have held forth the threat, that they would have the lands knocked down on their own bids and make them over to the depressed classes and Government officials. If in the strength between the Government and the people the latter succeed or a reconciation is effected between them, the lands of which the ryots have been temporarily deprived cannot but be restored to their owners, when the matter is finally settled. It is a surprise that the Government illusively think that some of the people will act against public opinion. Though they belong to the depressed classes they also are men, and we think that they will not be tempted by the orders now published by the Government. But the people should note that the non-payment of taxes is the last item in the programme of non-co-operation. They should consider a hundred times before putting it into practice. If they precipitate in the matter they will sustain great loss. May Providence enable the people to conduct themselves cautiously.

The present policy of the Government.

Genl. 47. Swaraj-taxes.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th January, writes under this heading:--In the matter of non-payment of taxes, there are differences of opinion even among us. Under such circumstances the people should undergo training before they can become competent to disobey every piece of legislation. The enforcement of the bad laws of the Government are giving the people such training.....The repressive policy of the Government is affecting their prestige. Even ordinary men will see that, when soldiers and machine-guns are found necessary for the collection of taxes and the exercise of authority, the prestige of the Government has gone down. The daily routine of the Government shows that they lend their ears to evil advice and plunge the country into the stream of repression. Whatever the panic-stricken Government, who have imprisoned 20,000 servants of the country for proclaiming their birth-rights, may do, the people will come out triumphant if they behave with self-control. The daring and firmness which the Andhras, especially the people of the Guntur district, have shown in their worship of the non-co-operation movement are praise-worthy. But the affairs of the country make it plain that the people should still receive training to qualify themselves for an all-round civil disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi will soon set himself to the task of training up men. Till then it will be well on the part of the people to brush aside the question of the non-payment of taxes which involves mass civil disobedience and take to individual civil disobedience only. Individual civil disobedience will qualify the people for mass civil disobedience and grant them their wishes. May the sub-committee appointed to fix the region, which is favourable to mass civil disobediece discharge its duties soon and prescribe the means for the protection of peace.

Genl. 52. The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th January, writes under this heading:-- People who are

The situation in India.

suffering from lack of independence and are smarting under the violation of self-respectx cannot give up their endeavours to accomplish their object. If as promised by him, Lord Reading did not interfere with the non-co-operation movement, so long as it was characterised by non-violence, the situation would have been quite different. But Lord Reading yielded to the bureaucracy not being able to keep him promise. He set himself to infringe the birthrights of the people. The fact that a policy that was found futile in Ireland is enforced again and again, shows that the efficiency of administration has greatly deteriorated.

S.R. 54. The Andhravani, of the 19th November (received on the 30th January 1922), refers in

The visit of His Royal High-ness.

its leader to the hartal observed not only in cities but also in remote hamlets in connexion with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince, and observes:-- The bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian papers are sorely grieved to find the indescribable success that has attended the boycott movement. There can be nothing more horrible than that the Governors, their Ministers and the Princes of Native States are spending lakhs of rupees on festivities and dinners in the name of reception to His Royal Highness, while in places like the Ceded districts, and Khulva, people are suffering for want of food and clothing, Will the bureaucratic authorities who are always attached to the Demon of Prestige pay any regard to public opinion? The people have found that the visit of His Royal Highness was a device resorted to by the authorities, in order to root out their craving for swaraj

and replace it by loyalty. But the people are to be congratulated on their having discharged their duty wonderfully in accordance with the mandate of Mahatma Gandhi. The public were quite against inviting His Royal Highness at the present moment. But the Government flouted their opinion, invited His Royal Highness, set on foot a policy of repression had to forfeit even the little confidence the people placed in them, and helped to intensify the people's spirit of boycott and real for swaraj. It is a mistake to think that by saying so, we entertain any hatred for His Royal Highness or for the members of the Royal house. They have not personally done us any harm but on the other hand they have spoken most sympathetic words about us many a time. As the bureaucratic authorities wish to make them dance like puppets in order to reinstate the prestige which they have forfeited in many a matter, the people cannot but express their disapproval. The bureaucracy themselves are responsible for such a critical state of affairs.

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Genl. 57. Refuting the view expressed by the Madras Mail in its issue of the 12th January that crime follows the extremist propaganda and remarking that the authorities themselves have brought the extremists into existence by a gross misuse of the public money to muzzle those who criticise the misuse thereof, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 25th January, in a communicated English article under this heading, writes:--

Where extremism leads to?

"......India stood by the British Government in the hour of danger. India showed love and loyalty. Christ taught the British people to return good for evil. It has been the misfortune of India to get from the Christian people evil for good. Who does not shed tears of blood when he sees that his patriotic brothers and sisters who seek freedom and

swarajya are looked upon as extremists, rebels, Bolshevists and what not? Who does not feel when he sees them tried by an unjust, unfair and un-British law and marched off to jail, as if they had been so many felons? It is love that conquers the world, not brutish selfishness........

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R.T.C. 59. Adverting to the opinion expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi on behalf of Government that the non-co-operation movement is not acceptable to a majority of the people of this country, and referring to the fact that he pointed his finger to Sir Sankaran Nayar as the person that really represented public opinion and concluding from this that it has become clear that the Government do not favour a joint conference, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th January, in a lengthy leading article under this heading observes:--

What shall we call this?

It is only a month and a half ago that the Viceroy gave out that he would not stand in the way of a joint Round-table Conference being held. Why is it that this desire of His Excellency had died out now? May it be that the Viceroy wanted the non-co-operators to put an end to their whole programme, and for the matter of that, the very fundamentals thereof as a preliminary to such a joint conference? We are at a loss to find out a name for this duplicity of the Viceroy who publishes his seemingly good intentions on the one hand, and keeps to himself his real wishes on the other.

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Genl. 63. The Malabar correspondent of the Sreevazhumcode, writing in its issue, dated the 14th January, severely criticises the action of the authorities in declaring

Mappilla disturbance.

that the Mappilla disturbance had ended and inducing innocent refugees to return to the very jaws of death. He asks:-- What prompted this action? Was it the hurry to remove the disgrace invilved in the fact that the great British power found it impossible to que~~e~~ll the Mappilla riots in such a long time? Or was it a device to get rid of the bother of looking after these refugees? Anyway the sin perpetrated is an unpardonable one. If the riot was over, was it not the Martial Law that ought to have been first removed?

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Coml. 64. Yogakshemam, of the 27th January, points out that though the riots in Malaber have been quelled, peace and tranquillity have not yet been restored. The

The Malabar situation.

refugees are not certain of their safety if they return to their homes, nor do they know how to earn their livelihood in the devastated area. The work of reconstruction, therefore, requires as much attention as the work of quelling the disturbance and ought to receive precedence of all other matters. The paper approves of the recommendations of the Kavalappara Moopil Nair's Committee and adds that the Government can accept them without any difficulty.

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66. The Mitavadi, of the 30th January, states that it is now proved and admitted that the immediate cause of the Mappilla riots and of the consequent hardships of the people, was the Khilafat and the non-co-operation movements, and observes that if the Khilafat and the non-co-operation workers who have been proved to be guilty of inciting the Mappilla fanatics to rebellion are not brought to book by the Government, the restoration of peace and safety is likely to be indefinitely delayed and the people will not find satisfaction in any of the steps that may be taken by the Government for the future well-being of the country.

Mappilla riots. The real rigg-leaders should be brought to book.

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69. The Qaumi Report, of the 25th January, has an article on this of which the following is is a full translation:--

The Malabar atrocities (let oppressions-translations.)

(Quotation from the Koran--nothing but destruction is increased for oppressors.)

The sky changes. The earth changes. So much so, every atom of the creation according to the general rule everything is subject to change and that which has changed is a new thing) is living but the Law of the Creator of the Earth and Heavens is unchangeable. No change can occur therein just as He is eternal and everlasting. So His Law is not liable to destruction and is not transient and all its components parts act conjointly at the proper time and no part can act against the other.

This is usual with God. When the Creator of the

Universe wills to destroy and ruin any nation or any special being. He gives the nation or the individual great powers and extensive authority and these self-same great powers and authority become the cause of his ruin and destruction. Because the general rule is that on account of rank, pomp, grandeur and following pride and conceit take possession of the mental powers and the inevitable outcome of pride and conceit is oppression and cruelty. The end of oppression is the death of the tyrant himself such a death as is deterrent and a warning.

Pargiz (grandson of Naosharavan) defeated Bahram, assisted by the Romans and thereafter there was none in Persia equal to him. Suddenly pride overtook him, and the following is very minor example of his pride:--

When Wahiyetul Kalbi brought from the prophet on whom be peace! an auspecious command this proud man (Parviz) tore it up.

Ibn-i-Khaldum writes: Parviz was not a tyrant previously but the defeat of Bahram and the consequential increase in power and authority made him proud to an unlimited extent and owing to the intoxication caused by pride and conceit he began to oppress his people. He imprisoned men of high rank and married their wives. His harem contained eleven thousand concubines and three thousand nikha wives. The consequence of this tyranny was that the Superintendent of the Jail, Zazan, by name became disaffected and attacked Parviz with 36,000 prisoners seized him and made him over to his son Shairrooya, who killed his father Parviz with great torture.

This is a minor marvel of God's usual way.

The world is not unaware of the end of Aad, Samood, Pharaoh, Nimrod and Shaddod. In short the Glorious God punishes every tyrant and does not leave any oppressor go

without ruining and destroying him.

After the European war Mr.Lloyd George's cup of pride became full to the brim and when this proud person saw that Germany and her Allies were defeated he at ance began to ride on the ill-natured steed of arrogance and to regard all worldly beings as mere ants and locusts. During the administration of Lloyd George the atrocities committed on poor subject speak for themselves.

We do not, at present, wish to recount the Punjab atrocities nor do we mention the atrocities committed by the barbarous Greeks on the helpless Mussalmans of Smyrna at a wink from Lloyd George. Because of the deplorable and heart-rending nature of the atrocities, we have no strength left in us to repeatedly mention them.

We try only to invite the attention of the readers to the heart-rending and bloody Malabar atrocities that have tended after centuries to lay before us the pages of the history of Chengiz Khan and Nadar Khan and to show us how easily the external garb of civilization and decency can be removed. At the outset we mention in a brief way the Malabar disturbances to show how they began and who is the originator thereof, the Government or the Mappillas and thereafter we shall mention the atrocities that have been perpetrated on the poor and helpless Mappillas (to be continued).

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70. The Qaumi Report, of the 26th January, has an article in continuation of the one in its previous issue. The following is its full translation:--

The Malabar atrocities.

(Quotation from the Koran-nothing but destruction is increased for tyrants.)

It has been proved from official and non-official reports that the Malabar disturbances were initiated by the want of foresight, coercion and repression practised by the District Magistrate Mr.Thomas. The fact is there was dispute between the ryots and zamindars in certain villages in Malabar afterwards the Mappillas dispersed quietly. Their High Priest, who weilds great influence with, and is highly respected by, the Mappillas arrived from Mullajeuram, instructed, and advised them to maintain order. In this they were soon quietted. This advice possessing the power of enchantment made Mr.Thomas' head reel and he soon charged the peace-loving Indians and supporters of non-co-operation with the creation of disturbances. By this it became generally known that the Government were trying to arrest and take securities from the Khilafat leaders and moreover they were xxxxxxx to be held responsible for the disturbances in Nilamboor.

These rumours have proved to be true by the following that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent and other Police officials arrived at Parapanangudi with a Police and Military force and surrounded the three mosques there and arrested three chief leaders of the Khilafat inside the mosques. Ali Musliar was one of them. People from the neighbourhood formed a great crowd and demanded the release of the leaders. The Assistant Superintendent of Police most readily promised to release them.

Afterwards the arrested leaders were taken to the station. There was a great crowd of Mappillas behind them. The authorities very tactfully asked the people to sit in the open. At this time the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were seated in the station with constables. As soon as the people sat down the Reserved Police and a Military party came and surrounded them. The order to fire immediately was given. This order was promptly obeyed.

~~Many~~

Many Mappillas, who had returned from Basrah, advised the people to be down on the ground. In this way many escaped. In spite of this many men were killed. The number of killed and wounded is shown to be about four hundred.

6 The people who lay down on the ground, began to move in the same position and pulling the legs of the sepoys made them drop on the ground and wrested their weapons with which they killed and wounded the sepoys. On hearing the reports of musketry and owing to a regular general massacre serious excitement was created among the surviving Mappillas.

These were the causes of the Malabar disturbances, while have been stated briefly by us, we now wish to point out on whose behalf the disturbances were created and which is the source of the disturbance.

We have written above that the originator of the disturbance was the District Magistrate Mr.Thomas. He unjustly charged the Khilafat leaders and tried to forcibly suppress the non-co-operation movement.

Janab Sait Yakub Hassan Sahib in delivering his presidential address at the Madras Provincial Conference held at Tanjore on the 17th August had said: The District Magistrate Mr.Thomas has adopted a wrong policy as

regards the Khilafat movement. Moreover he had tried to arrest the High Priest of the Mappillas, who is greatly respected by them and this has been effected by means of the help of the military and armed police, which is entirely repugnant to the principles of administration. The military fired at three thousand Mappillas who had gone to secure the release of their chief-religious leader.

The Khilafat leaders were unjustly charged. Mosques were entered with boots on and with the help of the military and armed police they were arrested. How far is this just? This was such a barbarous act as cannot be put up with even by those who possess only ordinary enthusiasm leaving aside the self-sacrificing nation for the sake of religion and community like the Mappillas.

Three thousand people were peacefully seated in the open and were fired on. This is such a cruel and mean act as has no parallel even in the history of Chengiz Khan and Nader. Mr. Thomas taught a lesson to the Mappillas that incapacitated them from relying on any Government Orders.

They bade farewell to their homes, property and families, proceeded to the jungle, become distracted owing to their helplessness, and began to live in jungles and mountains, on leaves of treets. Thereafter Military officers of Government and soldiers have meted out such unjust treatment to surviving women, old men and innocent children as is heart-rending and painful (to be continued).

N.C.S. 73. The Police Bill.

Remarking in general that the Government of India are laying one fence after another round themselves to see that their strength is not in any way impaired by the efforts of non-co-operators, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st January, reverts to the Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly penalizing any attempt to tamper with the loyalty of the Police and observes:--Even as it is, the creation of, and the attempt to create, disaffection towards the Government are offences under the Indian Penal Code and are punishable with transportation for life. While such is the case, there appears to be no necessity for a separate enactment to penalise the creation of disaffection among the Police Forces. Further, a special law may, if necessary, be passed prescribing a more rigorous punishment than transportation for life for such an offence; but there is no necessity for a law providing lighter punishment than that mentioned in the Penal Code. Of course, the Penal Code deals with the creation of disaffection generally and does not refer specifically to the act of inducing the Police to desist from the due discharge of their duties, which, however, is mentioned in the Police Code. But the punishment for this offence according to the Police Code is rigorous imprisonment for three months, while the Bill now introduced renders the same offence punishable with rigorous imprisonment for two years or a fine of Rs.2,000. Thus, as a result of this Bill, those who bring about a strike of work or a transgression of rules by the Police are liable to a more severe punishment. But if the aim of the present legislation is to penalise other trivial acts than those relating to the creation of disaffection as detailed in the Penal Code, the Government are bound to specify the same clearly. As it has not been done, this Bill is evidently

aimed mainly at those who induce the Police to break their disciplinary rules. The Government are, of course, seeking a means of self-representation in arming themselves with powers to punish such non-co-operators, * will not affect the effective recruiting of the Police Force and the zeal of the members thereof. Under this Bill, it will be an offence to ask the Police to go on strike or to ask them to transgress discipline. But will it constitute an offence if a member of the Force makes such suggestions on a special occasion, in their associations? It is the right of the members of an establishment to strike work, as willbe seen from a strike of the Police in London four years ago. Occasions may arise when they will have to break some rules of routine, etc., to better their condition. If, on all such occasions, ordinary methods of punishment are not resorted to, but such acts are deemed to be offences entailing rigorous kinds of punishment, it is possible that their right for the improvement of their condition may be impaired. If such a rest happens, the enthusiasm required for joining that Force or for not leaving the same at a suitable opportunity may suffer diminution thereby.

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* as cause indiscipline amongst the Police, by threat or persausion. But Sir William Vincent should see whether the Bill framed by him in view of the non-co-operators,

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IV.--NATIVE STATES.

S.R. 35. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 30th January, in a communicated English article under this head-line, writes to the following effect:--".........If the British

The Indian States.

people want India to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown, their primary and the foremost duty is to give more freedom to the Indian Princes, more territory to them and trust them more. His Highness the Maharaj of Mysore has greatly merited the unmixed trust of the British Government. His Highness is the ruler of a province where Kannada is spoken. The Kannada speaking districts of British India formed at one time part and parcel of the Mysore State. If the British Government hands over all the Kannada speaking districts ~~mfxBxitixhx~~ to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, on such conditions as the people of those districts and the British Government may approve and if a similar provision is made to all other Indian States similarly situated and circumstanced on linguistic basis, they will have taken a step which will bridge the gulf between British and Indian India and if, in addition to this, swaraj on the dominion lines is granted to India, the integrity of the British Empire will become so strong that the Empire can stand firm on its own foundations."

N.C.S. 76. Referring to the reported scheme of giving an improved training to the Imperial Service Troops and of equipping them with up-to-date weapons of war, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th January, in a short note writes:--All classes of people in India are in need of this training and equipment. But in the absence of that, is it not dangerous to equip a small number of people composing the army with terrible weapons of destruction while the other subjects are completely unarmed and weak? The Government of India have dexterously shoved the burden of this expenditure on the Native States in order to avoid a rub with the popular representatives in the Legislative Assembly and have at the same time succeeded in

The Imperial Service Troops.

getting an efficient army ready for their use whenever they require it. If our Government propose to maintain a huge army with the sole idea of putting an end to a spiritual movement like the non-co-operation movement, we need hardly say that the consequences will be very serious. At a time like this when the Congress and the people have begun to advise Government not to send our army to foreign countries for depriving them of their independence, it is nothing short of cruelty on the part of our Government to use our own army to put down our national movement, and on the part of the rulers of Indian States, to permit any such use. Of course, Government have not yet openly effected this new reform, but circumstantial evidence is available to enable people to entertain such doubts in their minds.

For the week ending 11th February 1922.

NO. 6 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in Kenya.

1. The Hindu, of the 10th February, writes:--"So the Government's real t oughts about the grave East African problem have at last been revealed. It were foolish of the public, had they expected anything more than courteous evasion of the usual variety. Technically, of course, the Assembly has passed a resolution protesting against the non-chalant bombshell speech of Mr.Churchill. But the inevitable deference to the Governmental point of view has so thoroughly watered it down that it would require boldness to claim it as a correct expression of the intensity of

popular feeling. Apart from the softend wording, the resolution as passed by the Assembly accords but a secondary place to the Kenyan crisis, treating it as but one factor in the far wider question of Indian citizenship in the Empire. It does not take much effort to realize what the Government gains by shirking a pointed focussing of opinion on a particular issue and by relegating that issue as a pendant to a general proposition which by its scope is susceptible of infinite postponement......The Indian, it has been repeated ad nauseum, does not want to drive out anybody, though in this particular instance the usual argument of historical precedence must tell in his favour; he fights that his primary rights should not be molested by a late comer who happens to be a compound of blatant self-interest and menacing brute force. The Indian clamaours for justice and nothing more. He now finds himself a helpless dupe. He has been induced to compromise but the hopes held out to him are frustrated, and who is there to regard those promises at least as sacred as the promises said to have been given by Lords Esher and Milner to the whites of Kenya? The Government of India paraded its fidelity to the policy of equal treatment, but that was at the beginning of Mr.Sharma's speech and he ended, in faith to the approved style, by substantially declaring that the Government found itself helpless against the powerful prejudices of the Kenyan whites. It is a bland excuse which one should not have expected from any Government except our own.......The Indians of Kenya must now wake up to realize they have paid too dearly for the compromise to which they agreed out of a mistaken faith. What part the Government of India took in this compromise, is set forth elsewhere by Mr.C.F.Andrews in an interview and the public need no longer wonder why even Mr.Samarth characterised the attitude of the Government, in anticipation, as a masterpiece of melancholy meanness!."

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(c) Jail.

P.P. 2. The Muhammadan, for the week ending 9th February, observes:--"The Central Khilafat Committee's telegram to the Press about the treatment accorded to political prisoners, including the Ali Brothers, is calculated to rouse the deepest feelings of indignation and resentment in all Indian minds generally and in Muslim minds in particular. ....In such cases, what the State has the right to do, granting the offence as established, in self-protection is to restrict the activities of those who express such opinion and not to punish them with all sorts of earthly inconveniences which the flesh of man could be subjected to. It is most iniquitous that men whose liberty has been restricted to, solely because they held opinions which the State could not tolerate should be huddled together with criminals of all sorts. They are not to be sent to a correction house, for it is not for correction that they have been sent to jail. What is most disgusting to a cultured mind in that men who are considered great patriots, men who in point of culture are infinitely superior to any of their tormentors, should not only be thrust in jail and humiliated by forcing on them convict dress and other accoutrements of prison life, but also be subject to the extreme disgust of having to eat unedible and most loathsome kinds of food. The patriots themselves may not mind under-going the troubles of their position, but the fact that Christ was willing to bear the Cross will not, we daresay, be made in Christian countries a reason why he must be and was rightly made to bear it. The self-respect and dignity of the country, irrespective of parties, demand that such things as

Treatment of Political prisoners.

as these should cease to be associated withour judicial and penal systems. But the co-operators, cosy in their present security and blissfully unmindful of the country, are content to rejoice over the troubles of the pious and the patriotic. Must this state of things continue to their perpetual humiliation and the humiliation of the country as well?".

(k) General.

Cong. 3. Commenting on the press communique issued by the Government of India in reply to the manifesto of Mr.Gandhi, New India, 4

The Government's appeal.

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to the impudent letter of Mr.Gandhi is crushing in its statement of facts, and stern in its rebuke to the instigator of rebellion. The mere fact that the programme of civil disobedience was formally adopted on November 4th, and thus antedates the notifications which Mr.Gandhi pretended were the cause of its adoption, will not affect Mr.Gandhi's serenity, as a mere matter of dates, reversing cause and effects, is beneath his notice. Besides, adherence to truth no longer troubles him, as he feel secure in the credulity of his followers. The Government has done well to justify its action so plainly, though all careful observers well know its patience and forbearance with intolerable provocation."

// Swarajya, of the 9th February, has the following:--

The policy of Despair.

"The Government's answer to the manifesto issued by Mahatma Gandhi, puts the issue before the country as the choice between lawlessness and maintenance of the principles which lie at the root of all civilised Government. Those very words express aptly the issue from the Congress point of view. The Congress is now fighting a policy of lawless

repressions only to wrest those very fundamental rights which form the basis of all civilized Government. The repudiation of the statement by the Government that they have embarked on a policy of repression is as absurd as it is irritating. Opinion throughout the country has unmistakably expressed itself against its pr sent policy which is aimed at the suppression of free speech, association and press. Under the specious plea of the maintenance of law and order, the Government has sought to muzzle all congress activity by stamping its volunteer associations as unlawful, by prohibiting its meetings and by suppressing its press........The application of force has, in many places, culminated in frightfullness and terrorism. To meet this exasparating policy of Government, was defensive civil disobedience resorted to. The decision to adopt a programme of civil disobedience was arrived at on the 4th November, but the Congress laid down the conditions predecent to its adoption both by the individual and the mass. Non-violence was made an essential preliminary. In the period that followed the decision of the 4th November, aggressive civil disobedience has not been embarked upon.... The government was offered the indefinite postponement of civil disobedience, if only it consented to reverse its present policy. The Round-table Conference need not have been called. The civilised policy of non-interference with peaceful activities was asked to be substituted in the place of ruthless and indiscriminate repression. The Government's answer assumed a tone of haughty condescension covering up a tissue of misstatements. It has now definitely rejected the offer which was made and has chosen a policy of despair."

R.T;O. 5. The following appears in the Hindu, of the 7th February:--

The British Press on the Indian situation. Not peace, but a sword.

"Were it not for the enormous hadm they do, the comments of the British press upon the Indian situation would add considerably to the gaiety of this distracted land. Superlatives are the staple diet of a stunt' press but few who are really in touch with affairs here--we exclude the truthful correspondents whose artistry demands a profusion of purple patches in their portrayal of the Indian situation--will admit that there is anything to justify the panic-born shrieks with which the British press is making the flesh of the public creep. To judge from the luridity of their comments, the least that these mirrors of public opinion expect in India is a more ensanguined Indian mutiny. The correctness of their evaluation of the present discontents is only matched by the nature of the remedies. These last range from the simple and sufficient demand of the 'Morning Post' for the execution of Mr.Gandhi, to the less sanguinary but equally wise proposal of the Observer to hand over large portions of British territory to the Indian princes. Nothing is apparently too fantastic for these founts of wisdom to suggest in the extremity of their panic. The only thing they are all agreed upon is the necessity for shewing a firm front. That call would have been more convincing if it were not so obviously inspired by panic; a firm front and a tremulous upper lip go ill together..... We do not know to what extent the attitude adopted by the Government of India is dictated by the trend of opinion in England or by the definite instructions of the Cabinet of which Mr.Churchill and Lord Birkenhead are prominent members. Whatever the truth the Government must advance much more cognent and convincing arguments than those contained in its

communique as to why it should so emphatically bang the door on a conference or why it should consider repression is the sole remedy for the present state of things. That state of things while it is not what it looks to the ultra-bilious imagination of the panic press, is sufficiently grave. Mr. Gandhi has with a frankness which is an expression of the xxhxrx higher political morality, laid his cards upon the table. He is not blind to the risks and dangers. He is not convinced how far the struggle can be kept upon the plane of non-violence. He admits frankly, and recent experience endorses his view, that the Congress has not yet acquired a firm hold upon its followers in the matter of non-violence. He is therefore anxious for peace; not peace at any price, but peace with honour. If the struggle is forced upon him, he will have a terrible choice to make between surrendering all that he has long fought for and embarking upon a struggle which might take a turn repugnant to the baisc principle of the movement. The Government of India has yet to explain why it forces that xxtx struggle upon him and his followers. If it were as anxious for peace as it professes to be, if it wishes to convert the present unhappy and admittedly dangerous antoganism into one of harmony and co-operation, if it is not prepared indifferently to contemplate the possibility of widespread disorder, is it not its duty to explore all avenues of peace and to convince moderate elements that repression is the sole remedy? And what do we find? The Government denies that its policy is repression. Repression by any other name may smell as rank and that the present policy is rank enough to smell in the nostirls of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri is a fact of no inconsiderable significance. Likewise with a few insignificant and ignoble exceptions, and the one and only Mrs.Besant who stands ready moderate opinion all over the country has in no uncertain manner explained what it thought about the policy. In the face of that opinion the

the Government have the temerity to urge the unreasonableness of Mr.Gandhi ~~of Mr.Gandhi~~ as a reason for refusing to summon a conference."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in Kenya.

7. Doubting if Mr.Churchill has any fòresight and if the steps intended to be taken by him in regard to the rights of the Indians in Kenya will ultimately be beneficial to the British Empire, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd February, remarks that Indians should, however, be grateful to him for his having recently expressed himself frankly on the matter and, pointing to the statement of Mr.C.F.Andrews that the substance of Mr.Churchill's recent speech is that he has betrayed the trust placed by the Indians in Kenya on the assurances given to them by the British Government, writes:--If the tenets of the Colinial ofice as expressed by Mr.Churchill are given effect to in practice, the majority of the Indians in Kenya will be driven to a corner as if they were members of an inferior and mean race, so as to prevent any further increase in the number of the Indian communicy already resident therein. As such rules will, in addition, be framed facilitating the gaining of seats by the Europeans in the Municipal, Legislative and Executive Councils, as cannot be easily satisfied by the Indians, opportunity will arise for the Europeans to conduct the entire administration as they please. Thus, the Indians will in course of time, be reduced to a low position. It appears that the Indians, not having been able to secure seats in the Legislative and Executive Councils adequate to their number and status, have for the time being agreed to

the terms suggested to them by the government of India itself that they should enter into a compromise accepting four seats in the Legislative Council and one seat in the Executive. It seems, however, that as they have now come to know the aims of the Office of the Colonial Minister, they will start a strenuous agitation. Unless the British Government recognise the rights of the Indians in Kenya and render justice to them, they have no other course open to them than following India and resorting to non-co-operation.

Strongly condemning the methods adopted by the English Government in the matter of the 'just' rights of the Indians in Kenya, the Dravidan, of the 2nd February, remarks that the Colonial office has flouted the resolution of equality' passed by the Imperial Conference and that the recent speech of Mr.Churchill will doubtless would the feelings of all the loyalist Indians and further observes:--It behoves all the xxxxxxx responsible English statesmen and His Excellency Lord Reading to wake up to the real situation, and, realizing that if they hesitate to render justice to the Indians in this matter, the excellence and dignity the English Government will suffer diminution, conduct themselves in accordance therewith.

Kenya and the Indians.

In criticising a letter sent secretly by Mr.Churchill last October to Kenya, the Andhrapatrika, of the 2nd February, remarks:--It is not known how the action of certain responsible Ministers in annoying one nation in collusion with another should be viewed. It is doubted whether under such circumstances India will have scope to attain an honourable place in the British Empire. The existence of such conditions confirm the views of the x advocates of complete swaraj.

Col. 11. Commending on Mr. Churchill's speech on the status of Indians in Kenya and in the rest of the Empire, the Malayali, of the 3rd February, says:--Europeans consider Indians as the Pariahs of the Empire, because Indians have no swaraj. The proper answer to Mr.Churchill's arrogant speech will be that the British do not see their own ruin because they are intoxicated with pride. Several instances go to show that as long as the mentality of the British Cabinet is such, there can be no peace between the English and Indians. Indians will surely try to manage to live without having to ape the Europeans.

Indians in other parts of the Empire.

The Swarat, of the 7th February, characterises as highly unjust the policy which the Europeans intend to adopt towards the Indians in Kenya, and expresses surprise that even several such acts of the Europeans towards Indians do not seem to open the eyes of some of the Indians devotees of Europeans. The paper adds that if the policy as foreshadowed in Mr.Churchill's speech is to be followed towards the Indians in Kenya, South African history will have to be repeated in East Africa.

S.R. 16. The Qaumi Report, of the 5th February, commenting on Lord Northcliffe's speech in which he ignores the questions of swaraj and makes a statement that loyal Muhammadans are of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest will save them from the Hindu and Muhammadan extremists' revolutions observes:--We are at a loss to know who those loyal Muhammadans are. Perhaps his Lordship like Lord Curzon has determined to bring the Government's honour to dust. Mahatmaji is a strong supporter of peace and it is through his endeavours alone

Our opinion on Lord Northcliffe's views.

that peace has been maintained in India, otherwise it would have been extremely difficult for the Government to face the opposition.

Referring to the repressive policy of the Government in Bengal and other Provinces and to the public readiness to undergo imprisonment and even to sacrifice their lives and property, the writer enquires what will be the state of the country if the public should also begin repression against the Government and what power will be able to subdue the feelings of the people in case Mahatma Gandhi is arrested. The Government's repression will tend to distnub the state of peace and tranquillity still more.

If the Government should act on the advice of those Muhammadans who are in no whit less than Mr.Lloyd George and Lord Curzon in bringing Government into disrepute. India will take such a turn as will, by the Grace of God, be productive of more beneficial and satisfactory results.

Finally the writer says that Muhammadans should demand not only the settlement of the Khilafat but also swaraj question. Unless the latter request is complied with, Muhammadans cannot remain quiet. The Government may possibly by coercion grant our request for the Khilafat but may subsequently, find an opportunity to make an attack on it. As a precautionary measure it is incumbent on every Mussalman to regard the attainment of swaraj as a pious duty.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Coml. 24. In the course of an editorial under this heading

II.-- HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Coml. 24. In the course of an editorial under this heading appealing to Muhammadans to do their duty by their religion and support the paper, the

Our fourth year.

Tatva Islam, of the 1st January, observes:--The Islamic faith, which was once shining with splendour in Cardova in Spain is now piteously struggling for its very existence in Constantinople, our Khilafat is subject to incalculable dangers and all our holy places have been caught in the hands of other religionists. All this is the result of the indifference of the Mussalmans in regard to their religion. Action is being taken under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code against Muslim leaders, while they carry on religious propaganda in pursuance of the assurances given by the English Kings, thus reducing all such assurances to the level of empty words. This is clearly seen from the judgment in the case of the Ali brothers. There is only one way open for us to regain our lost prestige, which is to spread Islam throughout the world by learning our scriptural teachings properly and following them.

R.T.C. 25. Referring to this subject, the Dravidan, of the 1st February, writes:--The resolutions of this conference appear to bind the Government first but not Mr.

The Leaders' Conference.

Gandhi. Perhaps, the politicians who assembled at the conference forgot that it was this mischievous agitation that made the Government resort to repression. It is only after Mr.Gandhi agrees to suspend his mischievous agitation completely, that the holding of a Round-table Conference will

become possible. We would, however, suggest to the Government the desirability of their pardoning the faults of their subjects and turning them to good ways in view to secure peace in the country.

N.C.S. 27. Observing that the Government complain that the leaders of non-co-operation impair the regard that the people have towards the officials of the former, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st February, writes:--It should be understood that the people will entertain sufficient regard for the Government only so long as the latter employ righteously the law, it is perfectly natural for the people to begin to loose regard for them. Those authorities themselves do such acts as are productive of this result and throw the blame on the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. As Lord Reading has personal experience of the glory of the law, it is highly regrettable that such acts should be done during the time of his rule. It appears that the Government themselves have now realized that both their own policy and the acts done by their officials in pursuance thereof have violated the wishes of the Legislative bodies and the law of the land. We expect also that they will admit, as early as possible, that some sections of the ordinary laws too have been similarly misapplied without any hesitation, as they can easily learn that the officials have resorted to them as they pleased. How long will it yet take for Lord Reading to realize that it undesirable that such a situation should have arisen for the Government to change the present policy and to adopt a means of pacifying the people?

Loss of prestige of Government officials.

Very moment certain authorities begin to rule as they please, without being bound by the law

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R.T.C. 28. Referring to this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st February, writes:-- It is highly regrettable that the Viceroy should have failed to pay due regard to the prayer of the distinguished people who had come to Bombay from different parts of the country that such a conference should be convened and wasted time, without giving a direct reply at the proper moment. From the fact of the Government of India not having given a reply, it has to be inferred that they have had no idea of convening a Round-table Conference. Lord Reading seems to be lendingxx ear to the suggestions of the Anglo-Indian papers and the retrograde British papers and continue obstinate. If he is willing to act according to his words at Calcutta, we think the present is the most favourable opportunity foriit.

The Round-table Conference.

Adverting to this subject, the Tamil Nadu, of the 5th February, writes in the course of its leader:--It is only when our soul-force can fight with the brute-force of the authorities and put it to rout, that we and the Government can stand on a par and x enter into negotiations and we need not describe the nature of the compromise that we can conclude with a Government that deem us to be impotent eunuchs. We are not therefore sorry in the least for the failure of the efforts of the Committee appointed for bringing about a Round-table Conference. And as the bureaucracy has informed us not to stop the struggle, it is our duty to conduct the passive war with an enthusiasm ten times stronger than before and curb the arrogance of the bureaucracy.

The Round-table Conference.

The Qaumi Report, of the 31st January referring to the

meeting of the Round-table Conference observes. We attach no importance to it, nor are we prepared to oppose it, but from the speeches made at the Conference and the press opinions we can only deduce that the holding of the Conference is productive of little advantage. How can we sit on the same benches with the Government to settle the question when we have severed our connection with it.

The writer, commenting on the attitude of most of the moderates who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the Viceroy or other Europeans observes;- What is the good of holding a Round-table Conference in such circumstances? It is something like beating cold iron or trying to hold water in a sieve.

In conclusion the writer observes that if the conference is not held on the lines suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, holding of it or not, will be one and the same. He warns people not to be at all anxious about it, and encourages them to try and accomplish the work in hand and to enthusiastically reinforce Volunteers, and in practising civil disobedience and non-payment of tax after the 31st January and says that the least delay in the fulfilment of these duties will be a serious blinder.

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29. Adverting to the same topic, the Navasakti, of the 3rd February, writes:--We are not at all surprised at the news that the Government are not willing to hold a Round-table Conference. For, why should they comprise their dignity when they have the support of the moderates? The people certainly infer that the Government will have become confirmed in their idea that they need not convene a Round-table Conference, after the defeat of Mr.Ishwar

Assembly.

Charan's resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly and we are indeed of opinion that the Government cannot prove by their acts that such an inference is wrong. But what is the position of Mr.Malaviya's party hereafter? Are they still going to co-operate with Government which attach no weight to their resolutions? Is Pandit Malaviya still under the impression that he can set the Government right?

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E.I. 31. Referring to the evidence given recently in Madras before the Committee appointed to do away with the racial distinctions appearing in the Criminal Law in India the Dravidan, of the 3rd February, observes:--How can justice, peace, fraternity and equality be established firmly in our country, if Europeans are deemed to be superior and Indians inferior, in the eye of the law? We hope, therefore, that the members of the aforesaid Committee will not hesitate to give expression to perfectly just views in consonance with those of our countrymen and we request our Government to render justice to our countrymen so as not to falsify the sound reverberating throughout the world that the English Government deals out to men of all races and creeds the same just laws and equality of rights.

Racial distinctions.

N.B. 32. We canot refrain from condemning the view expressed by the Public Prosecutor in Mr.N.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar's case, that it would amount to the offence of creating class-hatred for Brahmans to criticise the administration while non-Brahmans are the Ministers. Are not the Brahmans the subjects of this Government, paying taxes thereto? How can a representation of the defects in the administration by these persons alone amount to an offence? There are only two big classes of Brahmans and non-Brahmans in India and

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...il Nadu
Feb. 1922.

some representatives of either of these two will certainly be the Ministers. But it is said that, if there is any defect in their administration and if the subjects belonging to the other class criticise the same, it will constitute an offence. We do not know what law sanctions this. Further, where will be the prosperity of the country, if nothing is said for fear of this threat? But are not these, truly speaking, the servants of the subjects? It is a wonder of wonders that I should not have the right to condemn the drawbacks of my servant. It is only Lord Reading who has a special knowledge of law that should consider and decide this matter.

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N.C.S. 33. The non-payment of taxes. Rejoicing over its good fortune in communicating to the Tamil land the news that the first state in the war of non-co-operation will be begun according to the mandate of the Congress, in Bardoli by Mr.Gandhi, the Navasakti, of the 3rd February, writes:--..........At a specified place, Mr.Gandhi is going to stand on the rock of virtue and commence the war of wisdom and it is necessary that those who stand in his rear should observe aright the items mentioned by the Congress. But it is only our Tamil land that is backwqrd in all respects....... Let all the children of the Bharata country assemble on the battle-field of non-co-operation and come forward to promote the virtue of not harming any sentient being.

Non-payment of taxes. Writing on the subject of the non-payment of taxes a correspondent to the Kistnapatrika, of the 28th January, says:--If the people launch upon the no-tax campaign, the opponents will amend the present laws as they please, and give legal sanction to whatever they undertake to do. As in the Punjab and Malabar they will proclaim

Martial Law, treat the people as anarchists and enforce repressive measures. There is nothing strange in their doing so when they have to maintain their bureaucratic Government. They will justify their acts in the name of preservation of peace. They will not come to terms with us because they fear that by doing so their prestige will suffer. They will represent the no-tax campaign as a great revolt and will try to suppress it in every way.........It is my belief that we have not as yet undergone sufficient training for adopting this step of non-payment of taxes.

In its leader, the Hitakarini, of the 30th January, says:--The people of Guntur have started the movement for the non-payment of taxes with a calm mind. May everything prove favourable to them......The postponing of civil disobedience shows tardy progress on the part of Mr.Gandhi. But it is characterised by nobleness of mind and deep consideration; but this need not inspire fear in the minds of the Andhras. May everybody help the Guntur brethren. May the Andhrapropagandists go to that district and see to the fulfilment of their vow of non-violence.

A correspondent to the same paper says:--Let everybody walk in the same path to reach the goal of swaraj. Be prepared to refuse the payment of taxes at the time of the February kist.

The same paper says:--The Government think that is easy for them to introduce Panchamas into places where the people refuse to pay the taxes. The Panchamas will hesitate to leave their native villages. The authorities may perhaps succeed in influencing the Christians. But what is the use? The unrest in the country will increase. One sect in the population may have increased facilities. Let it be granted that they become landlords. But opportunity will

be afforded for a great many to join the opponents........ The new cultivator will begin to till the land; but the real owner of the land will lie down accross the plough share. The police will shove h m aside or arrest him. But arrests are a gain to the people, for they tend to strengthen the movement. The police and the bureaucracy will be agitated, with the result that the violent acts of the Jall anwalla Bagh will be repeated. The people will then know what it is to suffer and be fit to attain swaraj. The Government are unaware of the difficulties invölved in combating the movement of the non-payment taxes. They are giving the matter theiir deep consideration; but they could not give up their arrogance.

Cong. 36. The Vartakamitran, of the 8th January, publishes a communication from the pen of one V.Ramaswami Ayyangar, in which he says:--The Congress has ordered the enlistment of volunteers, Some time ago servants were required to do h.x. that are needed.......The aim of Indian administration is to acquire wealth and terrorism is its means. It seeks to improve material life and law is its agent here. Its fundamental principle is that the European civilization which tends to develop uncouth qualities, is superior to others and its policy is to distrust every one. The result of this is that Indians lose their honour and sense and die a miserable death........The Government of India spread atheism in our land under the pretext of civilization. The Rowlatt Act, it seems, will benefit the Indians more than the spinning wheel. The British Government have not understood our ancestors or ourselves, even though they have been here for hundreds of years. They do not clearly understand our civilization and mentality and it is their fault... So,

The Congress volunteers.

saintly personages are required to demonstrate to them and the world our mentality and civilization and the life of our ancestors and it is these that are dubbed volunteers of the Congress.

S.R. 37. The Vartakamitran, of the 8th and 15th January,

The necessity for swaraj.

publishes in its issues a communication from a correspondent on this subject in the course of which he describes how the people of this country had no grievances whatever before the advent of the British rule and how weaving and other industries flourished well, and observes:--Instead of improving our own industries, our Government being a foreign one are adopting a policy of preventing the growth of our industries so as to improve theirs. These very Englishmen imposed a heavy import duty on Indian goods getting into their country and also levied a fine of 200 pounds on those who used Indian cloth. Similarly, we have a right to protect the industries of our country. Our products are, however, being robbed by other countries since our ~~country~~ land does not enjoy swaraj but is uneer the rule of merchants. If this disadvantage is to be removed, Indian interests should be given primary attention in connection with the improvement of Indian industries. The present bureaucracy will not, however, allow this and even if they do, their mercantile superiors will immediately take them to task for it. It is only if the raw products of this country are used for industrial purposes here and the profits of these industries remain here alone, that all the people in this country will have a means of living and sufficient food, clothing and accommodation. The present system of administration is not only not favourable to this but is also secking the ruin of Indian industries by allowing foreign competition and

and permitting foreigners to do business in this country. Considering these reasons, swaraj is indispensable to secure a happy life for Indians. As the present system of administration does not favour industries carried on in India by Indians but offers every facility only for industries carried on by Englishmen, the number of Indian vessels which was 34,286 in 1,857 came down to 2.302 in 1898-99, to 1,676 in 1899-1900 and 503 in 1913. The world knows how the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, which was started in Tuticorin by Indians, came to nought on account of the competition of English merchants and the repression of the bureaucrats. When there are such failures of companies in Japan and other countries enjoying swaraj, the Governments of those countries make good the loss to a certain extent and the shipping trade naturally flourishes gradually. But, as a result of our shipping industry having been ruined, we have had to pay more than 30 crores of rupees last year to foreigners by way of freight. If our shipping industry is to prosper again and provide a living formay, we want swaraj of necessity.

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P.P. 38. Referring, in a note under this heading, to the order of the Government of the Punjab releasing Lajpat Rai and other leaders on the opinion of the Advocate-General of Bengal that the meetings of the Provincial Congress Committees are not public meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd February, observes:--

The trend of justice.

If the Magistrate's decision was against law, the proper course for the Government would have been to move the High Court through the Public Prosecutor for a reversal thereof but not to make a show of clemency and remit the unexpired portion of the sentence by the exercise of the special powers

vested in the Governor. In view to safeguard their prestige and delude the world, the Government of the Punjab may have resorted to this provision of the law and released the leaders. But the time is past for the world to be duped by such acts as these. The only point that will engage their consideration is whether the leaders committed an offence or not. The very communique issued by the Government has proved that the leaders are not guilty. What compensation do the Government propose to make for this unjustly punishing innocent leaders? It is only Lord Reading, who has been proclaiming to the world that his mission in India is to plant the banner of justice, that should answer this query.

Concluding from the recent release of Lala Lajpat Rai and three others, that the Punjab Government have realized that the arrest of those persons was illegal and referring also to the release of Babu Bhagavan Das by the Government of the United Provinces on the ground that his arrest was wrong, the Navasakti, of the 3rd February, wishes to know what punishment Lord Reading is going to impose on those authorities that were responsible for such errors.

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Pro. 41. Remarking that section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, has, for the last two weeks, again begun to be applied vigorously in this Presidency, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th February, observes:--

Application of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code.

There may be sufficient justification or pretext for the authorities to resort to repression in Guntur on account of the campaign of non-payment of taxes. But what is the reason for their applying this section in Tamil land and in the other areas of the Andhra country where

such a situation has not arisen? The public are of opinion that the reason should be the anxiety of the Government about the loss likely to result from the work of the non-co-ooerators in connexion with the sale of liquor shops, for this section has been applied in many places a day prior to the sale of liquor shops. We cannot decide as to wherefrom the idea first emanated that, if the agitators are gagged, bidders will come forward freely to take the liquor shops. The electors, who have invested the Ministers with responsibilities, would like to know whether these steps are the outcome of the interest evinced by the latter in the collection of the cruel tax on drink, based on the ignorance of the people and on the alleged right of people to drink. They should also know whether the officials of the Police and Magisterial departments, which are under the Executive Council, have come forward to resort to repression even in matters connected with the Ministers, on the plea of maintaining law and order. It is a well-known fact how local officials generally conduct themselves. They generally start repressive measures relying mostly on the version of the Police. We receive news to day that Doctor Mani Lal who went to Salem without any political motive has been served with a prohibitory order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. We do not know whether our Ministers think that the public will perhaps feel glad at the Government deriving a profit of a few rupees from the sale of liquor shops, as a result of such measures. How can they consistently profess to be responsible to the popular representatives after permitting the fundamental rights of the subjects to be wrested from them? Many will be eager to know whether the members of the Legislative Council will, in the next session, bravely declare their intention to condemn the repressive policy. If this Council should support a repressive policy resorted to merely for the sale of liquor, we need

Genl. 45. Applauding very much the 'courageous act' of Mr. Ramachandra Rao of the Andhra province, against whom proceedings have been taken for his having refused to take the usual oath and give evidence in a case, the Tamil Nadu, of the 5th February, observes that it has become impossible for conscientious persons to remain outside the gates of prison, during the administration of the British bureaucracy.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao.

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N.C.S. 46. Characterising the 'ultimatum' sent by Mr. Gandhi to the Viceroy as a threatening and hasty communication, the Dravidan, of the 7th February, refers to the statement made therein that it is only the repressive policy of the Government that made the non-co-operators take to civil disobedience and observes:--The cause of repression is the mischievous agitation of Mr. Gandhi and not the Government. As regards the unreasonable and useless terms proposed by Mr. Gandhi in his 'ultimatum' it is no wonder that the Government are not prepared to accept them. So long as Mr. Gandhi does not accept the terms already proposed by the Viceroy, the Government should necessarily make all arrangements in view to secure public safety. Till now, we expected that Mr. Gandhi might act calmly in view of the welfare of the country but our expectation has failed. So we heartily and strongly support the Government in their appeal to all-right-minded people to assist them in establishing peace in the country and preserving public safety and hope that all true subjects will respond to this appeal.

The Government and the non-co-operation movement.

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The non-co-operation movement.

Reiterating its view that non-violent non-co-operation exists only in name, the Dravidan, of the 8th February, expresses its horror at the news that a Polåce station was attacked by some non-co-operation volunteers in the United Provinces, that a number of people were murdered and that Railway lines and telegraph wires were cut off and remarks:--Perhaps this is the system of Gandhi Home Rule' which aims at securing increased prosperity for the public. Is any better illustration needed than the abovementioned incidents for the statement of the Ali brothers that their object is to uproot the English Government? This makes it clear that mischievous non-co-operation volunteers are being enlisted in large numbers only to fulfil the object of Mr.Gandhi that all laws of Government should be set at naught. While the agiåation of Mr.Gandhi is thus spreading like wild fire, is it not hypocritical on his part to suggest that laws calculated to preserve public safety should not be enforced?

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Genl. 47. Propagandist work in foreign countries.

Remarking that the nature of the work done by Professor Horne sent to America by the Government of India at India's expense can be gauged from a letter to the Modern Review by a correspondent from America, according to which this Professor appears to have been lecturing in the American Universities that the Indians are unfit for Home Rule, that the reforms now granted are the best, that these have been granted liberally by the British Government, that Mr.Gandhi and his followers are a set of lawless people and that responsible Government has been granted to India, the Swadesamitran,

of the 8th February, observes:--In reply to an interpellation in the Council of State on this subject, the Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell stated that the services of Professor Horne had been lent to the Harward University and that, as by virtue of this office, he had facilities to contradict the false and mischievous statements made in some of the American newspapers, the charges relating to him were being met from Indian revenues. On a further question as to Mr.Horne's qualifications for discharging this duty, it was pointed out that his thorough knowledge of the situation in India was his main qualification. The gist of his lecture quoted above serves best to show how far he is conversant with the condition in India. We have of necessity to infer that it is the intention of the Government of India to cause such addresses to be delivered through him. Further, it is a matter for consideration how the charges for this individual are met from Indian revenues when the Legislative Assembly has declined to sanction them. It is but natural for the Americans to entertain wrong impressions from such mischievous news spread by persons professing to be competent.

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Col. 48. The Trilanga, of the 24th January, refers to this subject and observes among other things:--In Kenya an Indian cannot set his foot except in certain parts. The wife of an Indian is considered by the whitemen as his concubine. His children are deemed to be illegitimate. In Fiji there is a separation between the husband and the wife. There is enforced companionship of Indian women with whitemen.......In the colonies the Indian is victimised in the beginning for the sake of the British Empire. Indians who have rendered immense help to England in the late war are said to be unfit to enjoy equal

Indians in the British colonies.

rights with the whitemen. The Englishmen have not got the slightest regard for India, the daring the enterprise of whose sons enabled the English to lay the foundations of their Great Empire.

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R.T.C. 49. The Andhrapatrika, of the 31st January, observes in its leader:--Repressive orders will never promote peace. The granting of the aspirations of the people

Repression.

is the only way to it. Those who are accustomed to flout the ideals of the people cannot recognise this; but will alwqys try to adopt a repressive policy in the name of law and order. The people never thought that the British would apply one principle to the people of the east and another to those of the west. To grant the firm wishes of the people to honour the principle of self-determination. The statement of such statesmen as Mr.Churchill that the British are not prepared to grant self-government to the east is not worthy of either themselves or their country, England. The official members both in the State Council and the Indian Assembly have rejected the advice of the members thereof. The authorities are enforcing repressive measures with a stronger hand than before. Without the swaraj question being solved at this juncture, the country will not be satisfied. If any solution of the question is intended it must be solved as a whole. It will not be possible to cheat the people, who are firm in their resolve, by diplomacy. There is no hope of the Round-table Conference being held.

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N.C.S. 52. The Kitakarini, of the 30th January, observes under this heading:--Nationalism was, like Sri Krishna, born in the prison. This great national spirit originated a long time ago in the minds of innocent and stainless men who think that the bureaucratic authority which is 'good, benevolent and unobstructed' is worse than the Egyptian plague and that the peace established by the British is a source of ruin to the daring and prowess of the people and is canker warn eating into the vitals of the independence of the country. Are these not the people who think that the allotment of some seats in the councils, the conferment of some offices of High Court Judges, the reservation of certain posts of Collectors, the grant of freedom of speech on platforms, are of no advantage at a time when the people are suffering by thousands on account of famine and pestilence and are trampled upon by poverty and at a time when the life-blood of the people is being drained in the shape of salaries and allowances to foreigners?

The national movement.

Genl. 53. Criticising the suggestion of Sir Fredrick Lugard to the British Government in India to bring the British subjects as far as possible under the influence and rule of the Princes of Native States and take their help in counteracting the dangers that now threaten the country, the Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd February, observes:--We cannot think that anybody in India will accept this suggestion. Mere spread of the rule of the Indian Princes cannot be regarded as self-government. Native States at present are the chief supporters of bureaucratic authority. They infringe people's birthrights. What the people now want is self-government and not a change of authorities. People will not be deceived by such vain remedies.

Strange remedies.

Cong. 55. The Andhrapatrika, of the 4th Feburary, refers to the withdrawal of the resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly recommending the constitution of an Andhra Province and says that on the attainment of swaraj reconstitution of the provinces on language basis cannot but be effected, that the Congress has now divided the country on that basis and that there is no doubt that this division will continue to have effect after the attainment of swaraj.

The constitution of an Andhra Province.

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S.R. 56. Referring to the repressive measures of the Government, a correspondent of the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th February, says:--English politics means diplomacy. They have religion and morals only in the church on Sundays and they do not care for them in their worldly daily life. The doctrines of Christ are not practised in politics.........Our leaders began their struggle in the political field in which the British have become experts. This was favourable to the Government, who were easily overcoming them because of their little experience. In their system there was nothing impossible, if only bribes were offered. If a leader representing the grievances of the people was given an appointment, he would cease to clamour. The people could not understand the tall-talk of the leader and the policy of the Government by which they deceived him. The Government need not entertain any fear till another beggar for appointment came up. That time is now gone. The non-co-operation movement has come into existence as we have adopted a political policy which relies upon God.

A mistaken attitude of the Government.

We wield the weapon of non-violence. The Government who are worshippers of violence could not understand how to encounter this. When one stands with his sword unsheathed, his opponent may do the same and feel gratified at his victory in the fight. To fight with one, who is without arms will provoke one's laughter; so, the position of the Government is very regrettable. The enemy is before them and they are at a loss to know how to encounter him. They are therefore trying every device. The Government ought to know this. The endeavours made without a knowledge of the right path cannot but prove vain. A righteous method must be followed to encounter an enemy in a righteous fight: one's duty is not to give freedom but to see to its maintenance in man. May the Government understand this at once and agree to the grant of swaraj to Indians.

N.C.S. **60.** ~~Thexandhrapatrika,xofxthex~~ Adverting to the Proclamation issued by the Madras Government

Civil disobedience.

that in case the lands given up by people offering civil disobedience do not find purshasers, the Government would give the same to the Panchamas and protect them with all their civil and military resources, a correspondent to the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 3rd February, in the course of an English article under this heading makes the following observations among others:--".........History shows that though this is unjust, un-British and unfair, it is not outside the range of practical politics. The advocates of civil disobedience must take note of this. What is there to prevent the Government from bringing in men from beyond India and making them occupy the lands of these civil disobeyers? Civil disobedience is, therefore, beset with great danger.........The policy of 'Divide and

~~Rule'~~

and Rule' is put into force. No nation on the surface of the globe can resist this policy. A disarmed nation can never resist this policy, when it is undertaken by an armed nation, without the grave risk of being exterminated. Now that the bureaucrats are firm and that they rely on the policy of puglism, and machine guns, it is the duty of the Indians to relinquish recourse to civil disobedience and adopt a more reasonable and a more paying policy. The Andhras would do well to reconsider their attitude now........Time has come for the concentration of national forces. The Anglo-Indian bureaucrats are bringing about a situation subversive of the British Empire. They are doing in minutes and hours now what was impossible to do in times past during decades and centuries. Let them work out their own destruction. It is wisdom on the part of Indians to persevere in their non-violent non-co-operation and defer the adoption of civil disobedience to a more convenient time which is so fast approaching. In the meantime let a chance be given to the bureaucrats to reconsider their un-British policy and see whether the policy of 'Live and let live' will not commend itself to them...... The injustice of the bureaucrats should be proclaimed from millions of watch-towers. Arrangements should be made to do so not only in India but in every part of the British Empire, British Colonies and other empires and colonies of the world, so that this un-British autocracy may commit its natural suicide. These Anglo-Indian bureaucrats are nominal Christians. They are so many anti-Christs and infidels. They want to suck the blood of those who toil and moil to keep them in happiness and comfort. Bureaucrats are generally so. We must not be guilty of attempting to kill them. We must leave them to kill themselves by their un-Christian and un-British acts. Our policy should be to awaken them to a sense of British justice and fair-play."

Civil disobedience.

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 4th February, has a leader on this subject in which the writer complains that Mussalmans have done what was required of them by Hindu unity. They have been foremost in each work, yet they have gained neither material nor spiritual benefit. They have suffered much in life and property. All the reports. that bear on resignations of appointments have connexion with Mussalmans alone. Hindus must give up their posts at once when this Mahatma Gandhi thinks that service is worse than slavery.

It is amazing that Mussalmans are willingly obeying a non-Muslim leader whereas the Hindus showing less their inclination to do so. The beauty of its is that the posts that have been vacated by Mussalmans have been filled by Hindus. Mussalmans are thus starving. Where is the Mussalman who does not regret such lack of foresight on the part of his co-religionists?

Hindus have not contributed anything towards the Angora Fund, nothing has been allotted from even the Tilak Fund. This being the case what is the use of such Hindu Muslim unity.

In these circumstances the unity of Mussalmans with Hindus appears to be just like that of a servant with his master. The marvel is that Mussalmans alone are the more readily induced to practice civil disobedience.

There is no doubt that Mussalmans have much sympathy with the Khilafat and rightly so. Muslim honour and prestige depend on the existence of Turkey.

With these remarks the writer dissuades Mussalmans from participating in civil disobedience.

N.C.S. 61. Reviewing in a leading article the Administration Report of Coorg for 1920-21, the Kodagu, of the 3rd February, makes the following observations among others:--Though our Government are not unaware that our journal is the only vehicle of supplying our ryots with information, we very much regret to note that while they have been sending to us for publication such of the notifications as are necessary to them, they do not supply us with such information as is essential for the welfare of the people. We have to thank the Coorg Landholders Association for a copy of the Administration Report upon which the present review is based. We hope that the Government will remove this disadvantage at least hereafter.

The Coorg Administration Report for 1920-21.

Referring to an excerpt from the report that the non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements have not raised their heads in Coorg, but that the peo le of the province have begun to evince greater interest in political questions, the aritcle proceeds to observe:--We do not want non-co-operation. All the same it is but meet that our people should understand the trend of the agiation now going on in the other provinces of India. Our province did not direct its attention to the agitation that was going on in India prior to 1918, with the result that while the sister provinces were granted councils having powers of self-government, we are being kept in a line with the North-West Frontier Province and the Andaman Islands and given nothing. No wonder that we have opened our eyes now and have begun to agitate.

Anent the remark in the report to the effect that the new awakening among the people should be directed in the right path and that this work should vest for some years to come in the hands of the District officer, the paper observes:--This

This is highly derogatory to the welf-respect of our people, implying as it does that our people have no discrimination and are incapable of understanding what conduces to our own welfare.

The remark in the report that the youths of Coorg have come forward to take an active part in political and social matters and that it may lead to dissensions between them and their elde s, is too trivial to find a placein it and may give a wrong impression to the members of Parliament when it reaches their hands.

R.T.C. 62. Adversely criticising the conduct of Sir Sankaran Nayar in leaving the presidential chair all on a sudden, the Kodagu, of the 3rd February, in a lengthy

Sir Sankaran Nayar.

article under this head-line writes:--It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Sankaran Nayar's opinions given expression to by him in his letter to the Times of India at this most critical period in the history of our country have served to stand as a stumbling block in the way of the progress of this country and have helped to alienate the regard the people had for him. Had he abstained at least from writing to the Times of India after his leaving the presidential chair, he would not have lowered himself so much in the popular estimation.......We trust that the Government will, without attaching undue importance to Sir Sankaran Nayar's letter and to the resolutions passed in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, bring about a Round-table Conference and establish peace in the country.

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N.C.S. 63. The Kerala Patrika, of the 28th January, attributes the increase of unrest in various parts of the country to Mr.Gandhi's non-co-operation movement and expresses doubt whether the arrest of Mr. Gandhi as suggested by some papers in England and in India, will at present, be productive of any good. The paper points out that the leaders of the people are as much responsible for the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the country as the Government, and observes that if a way-out is not discovered soon, serious consequences are sure to follow.

The present political situation.

The Mitavadi, of the 5th February, regrets that Mr. Gandhi, not satisfied with the non-co-operation activities in Madras, Bombay and Malabar, has now applied the match to Guntur, Bardoli and Assam, and observes that it will not be possible to live in peace and contentment in the country if the Government and the real people allowed the present state of affairs to continue.

Cong. 65. The Swarat, of the 31st January, quotes extracts from English newspapers to illustrate the sort of stuff provided by them for the enlightenment of the members of Parliament from whose good will alone India can, according to the Viceroy, get any reforms in the future and referring to the remakr of the Morning Post that Gandhi should be killed if necessary, it observes:--It is from a Parliament consisting of men with the holy mentality that craves for a drink of the life-blood of the patriots who stand up for their natural rights and strive for that measure of freedom which is the birthright of man that India

The English Press and India.

should forsooth get her freedom! nay, India's freedom as the Mahatma has often pointed out--is in her own hands" The article refers to the impossibility of Englishmen even understanding the real needs and aspirations of India and illustrates the point by reference to the utter futility of the present Reform Councils.

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III.--LEGISLATION.

N.C.S. 68. Referring to the Act passed by the Madras Legislative Council insisting on the members of municipalities and local boards taking an oath of allegiance to the Crown within three months after the date of their election as such, the Vartakamitran, of the 25th December observes:--Non-Co-operators can take this oath unless they happen to entertain republication views, and can cause any amount of obstruction in the council. The Government can never prevent the action of municipalities like that of Rajahmundry; nor is such action unlawful. So, the object of the Ministers in introducing this Act is not going to be achieved. A gentleman may decline to take the oath after he gets elected, and, as he cannot assume office, his place will fall vacant. What is to be done if he stands again for election and, succeeding in it declines to take the oath? Is he to be charged with sedition, or are his electors? There does not appear to be any provision in the Act to remedy this defect. What will be the fate of a municipality if all its councillors decline to take the oath. If the people of the locality do not want the facilities of a municipality, can the same be thrust on them? What has been the result of such a course in Chirala-Perala? Municipalities exist for the benefit of the people and, if unnecessary restrictions are imposed in connexion with them, the facilities resulting from their

The oath of allegiance.

existence disappear. Further, though the people are ignorant of high statecraft, they are alive to their petty needs, such as sanitation and light, and they will return to the councils only such leaders as will secure those needs. It is not possible to expect people who are of one mind to submit to a meaningless order of the authorities and so the non-co-operators cannot be kept out of municipal councils by means of this Act. If any attempt is made to do so, the people will begin to take to non-co-operations in regard to municipalities also.

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For the week ending 18th February, 1922.

NO. 7 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

N.C.S. 2. Referring to the meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress on the 11th and 12th February, the Hindu, of the 13th idem, observes:--"To those who, like ourselves, had serious misgivings as to the wisdom of embarking on civil disobedience at the present time the decision of the Working Committee to suspend the programme of offensive non-co-operation will come as a ~~committee to suspend the programme of offensive non-co-operation will come~~ great relief. The horrible affair at Gorakhpur has shown that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence, without which mass disobedience is fraught with terrible results, is emphatically not present over some parts of the country. We are aware that the Mahatma is not the

The National Congress Working Committee.

the man to launch on civil disobedience unless he was perfectly satisfied that it was possible nay, certain, to preserve non-violence in the area of his selection. While it is therefore probably that non-payment could have been pushed to a successful issue in Bardoli, we must not overlook two important considerations. One is the practical certainly of the Mahatma's ~~great~~ arrest the moment the campaign begins. How far in the natural indignation such a step is sure to evoke it would be possible to ensure against violence even in places which have assimilated the true spirit of non-co-operation must remain open to doubt. In the second place it would be impossible to avoid elsewhere in India the repercussions of the struggle in Bardoli. Bardoli itself might suffer in peace but there are areas which might attempt to translate their sympathy and enthusiasm into unpleasant shapes. The decision therefore, as we said, is a wise one."

Justice, of the 13th February, writes:--"The reader, we have no doubt, will rub his eyes in amazement when the goes through the resolutions (published elsewhere in this issue) passed by the Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Bardoli on Saturday last. These resolutions represent a notable climbdown on the part of the Congress Dictator and his chelas. The latter are no longer suffering from that stupendous obliquity of vision which has so far incapacitated them from seeing things in the right perspective and realising their true significance. The Gorakhpur tragedy has, however, worked the miracle, and the lives of the twenty-one unoffending policemen murdered in cold-blood by the howling mobs, led by national volunteers, at Chauri Chaura have not, we think been lost in vain. The cries of heart-rending agony which must have emanated from these innocent victims of mob violence

when they were being mercilessly battered to death have fortunately reached the ears of the dictator and made him repent of the egregious folly he had committed in letting loose dark forces of evil in the country through his non-co-operation movement. The result of this awakening, belated though it be, on the part of the Congress Dictator, is seen in full force in the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at present..........A fresh batch of instructions with regard to Congress activities in the future has also been issued by the Committee. But the question is-how far the present injunctions will be obeyed by the large mass of hooligans and rowdies who have joined the ranks of the non-co-operators and who have revelled so long in the opportunities afforded by the previous programme to indulge in their nefarious predilections towards violence and lawlessness? There is, however, one consolation, and that is that the Congress has now entirely dissociated itself from the provocative aspect of the propaganda which its adherents have so far been pursuing. This emphatic withdrawal of support from the unruly elements will give the Government a free hand to deal with the latter in the way the law allows them to without incurring the slightest disapprobation from the Congress. The Congress has enjoined the cessation of all violent activities such as picketing, holding public meetings and processions in defiance of Government orders, and so forth; those who violate these injunctions will now have no reason to expect any the slightest encouragement or sympathy from the Congress quarters. Naturally, therefore, the Government can now exercise their sway, enforce their laws, and assert their authority, without coming in for needless abuse or denunciation in the non-co-operation journals. This in itself, is no small gain, and it now remains for the authorities to check the wave of lawlessness that has been set a surging by the non-co-operators, but from which they have now authoritatively dissociated themselves."

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Genl. 4. Commenting on the speech of Mr.Montagu in the House of Commons on the 14th February, the Hindu, of the 16th idem, writes:--

Mr.Montagu's speech.

The Great Surrender.

"The Legislative Assembly cast its bread upon the waters and ithas returned to it, not indeed after many days, but with a promptitude worthy of a rapid age. As a counter-blast to the die-hard' motion for a vote of censure in the Commons, it passed a vote of confidence and how Mr.Montagu repaid that touching if simple faith in his love for Indian self-government our readers may judge for themselves from the report of his speech published elseqhere. So far as mere political tactics go, he scored a victory. The Ministry of all the Talents has no longer on his account to face the chances of electoral misfortune. But so far as the cause for which he is the trustee, or the principles which he professed in his more liberal days, are concerned, he made an abject surrender. He has successfully defended his position by surrendering it to the last emplacement, to the last foot of wire-entanglement. For, let us be clear as to the issue. The challenge was as to the guiding principles of the policy underlying the Reforms. The'die-hards' whose frankness we respect as much as we detest their abominable principles put the issue quite clearly. That issue lay between efficient and self-government.....It would be a work of supererogation to enlarge on the fallacies of the blood and iron theorists but what is most surprising is that Mr.Montagu, with the issue placed so clearly before him, with such a splendid opportunity to vindicate the principles to which he has done at least lip-service should with an attack of cold feet only explicable on the ground of fear of losing his job, not only have missed the opportunity but adopted a tone of whining apology.

When the very basis of his policy is threatened, he could not find any thing more emphatic to say than that he did not believe that the British Parliament would ever jeoparadise India's opportunity of securing self-government' and promptly lapsed into a minatory strain which with the subtle sensitiveness of his race he felt to be more attuned to the temper of the House........As a contribution to the chances of peace in India Mr.Montagu's speech is a powerful deterrent. He has made it obvious, by his unequivocal declaration that no acceleration of the Reforms could be contemplated at present, that it is idle to talk of a Round-table Conference. That avenue of peace is closed and closed emphatically. And that is a sifficient answer to the querulous complaint that Mr. Gandhi has only adapted and not abandoned his programme. The alternative then lies between the probation demanded by Parliament and the probation prescribed by Mr.Gandhi. Is it too much to expect, in face of the truculence of Mr. Montagu, the severe rebuff administered to the moderates, his impudent flourishing of the big stick in the face of this country, that all parties should rally to a cause which no longer represents a particular way of progress, but the very self-respect of the nation itself?"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

6. Commenting on the discussion in the Legislative Assembly about the attitude of Mr.Churchill in regard to the Indians in East Africa, the Andhrapatrika, of the 11th February, remarks that although the Government of India have sympathised with the demands of the Indians in regard to the East African question, the

Indians in East Africa.

speech of Mr.Sarma shows that the Government have not clearly realised the seriousness of the situation in East Africa. It observes:--At the Imperial conference held in 1921, it was resolved that the Indians should have equal rights with the other nations in the colonies. But Indians are subjected to great disabilities in the colony of Kenya and a responsible Minister like Mr.Churchill has said 'Aye' to it. Can there be a greater violation of the pledge. What more proof is required to show that the resolutions of the Imperial Conference are a sham. So long as India does not enjoy complete self-government the Indians will not be looked upon with suitable respect outside their country.

Lord Churchill's speech about the Indians in Kenya.

7. Under this heading, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 11th February, writes:--If the Imperial Government owing to their 'maah' relationship with the whitemen of Kenya, break the promises they made at the Imperial Conference in regard to the status of the Indians in the Colonies, it will be an everlasting stain on them. The Government Member has promised to communicate with the Imperial Government on this subject. If t is much of justice is rendered, both the rulers and the ruled will be blessed.

N.C.S. 12. The Qaumi Report, of the 11th February, referring to the Mahatmaji's reply to the recent Press Communique, observes that the dark veil of stubborness, and conceit, which has obscured the understanding of the Viceroy will never recognize those arguments of the Mahatmaji.

The reply to Mahatma Gandhi's strong grounds.

The writer dealing at length with the repression, and highhandedness of the Government, compares them to iron, and observes that the easy way of fighting them is to destroy their pride by the fire of demonstrations, and see the result.

The writer finally complaining of the community's backwardness in the swadeshi movement, etc., suggests to Mahatmaji to begin the campaign of civil disobedience, and refusal to pay taxes, and see whether the Government will yield.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

Genl. 14. Referring to an auction of certain distrained property by the Police, the Andhravani, of the 4th February, contains the following remarks in an article under this heading: When a non-co-operator sought admission into the place of auction the Police Circle Inspector directed him to get out or to promise before-hand that he would bid. Will anybody bid before seeing the property? It is strange that this which will suggest itself to any fool did not strike the Circle Inspector. May the Police officers, whatever may be their rank, not forget that they also are Indians and that it is their duty to treat their countrymen with regard! May

Police auction.

May they realize that their duty to God is a hundred times greater than their duty to government whose patronage they seek for earning their bread!

(j) Salt and Abkari.

Pro. 18. The Andhravani, of the 4th February, writes under this heading:--Friction is likely to occur between the officers and the non-co-operators at the sales.

Abkari sales.

May the propagandists conduct themselves in such a manner that they do not lose their self-respect, even though the blindness of authority' asserts itself anywhere. At this juncture when our Guntur brothren are prepared to start mass civil disobedience, disrepute will fall to our lot if our district does not manifest union in the matter of boycott of abkari sales.

S.R. 21. The Tamil Nadu, of the 5th February, publishes a communication on the present situation, from the pen of a correspondent, who describes

The present situation.

inonically how Dyer sowed the seed of British 'justice', in this country by shooting down innocent persons in the Jalianwala Bagh, how Lord Chelmsford took great care to whater it well, so that it sprouted before his very eyes, how the sweet smell of this plant was enjoyed by Mr. Thomas at Calicut when it was wafted down from the snowy Himalayan heights and the plant reared into a big tree by him and how Lord Reading, coming to know of the wonderful quality of this tree, distributed the sweet fruits thereof to the Indians by means of repression and observes among other things: England which is immersed the illusion of immense

wealth will never in her egotism grant us swaraj soon. But if we do not gain this birth-right of ours now, it will be impossible for us to oppose hereafter the atrocities and the cruel administration of Martial Law of the bureaucracy in India. Which son of the Bharata land, who has any self-respect will be inclined to be a slave under the whites who came here as merchants, to make our country absolutely dependent and to administer justice according to their mental attitude. From the day the English set foot on this sacred soil, the wealth civilization and culture of India began to undergo a stupendous change, for our good or evil. During the time of this British bureaucracy, India is not for the Indians but only for the British. From that time forward, the prosperity of India went to rack and ruin and lakhs of our Indian brethren are observing the vow of starvation every day. Our heroic lions of young men and women should, therefore, leap out armed with crores of the machine guns of spinning wheels to put down the atrocities of the bureaucracy.

N.C.S. 22. The Government and the non-co-operation movement.

Adverting to the letter sent by Mr.Gandhi to the Viceroy and to the communique issued by the Government of India by way of reply thereto, the Swadesamitran, of the 7th February, writes as follows:--Excluding those who committed offences such as rioting and coercion, thousands of non-co-operators who have taken to the principle of non-violence have with pleasure entered prison without offering any defence in the majority of cases, for maintaining the rights of the country and for completely changing the methods and principles of the present Government. Are the mighty leaders such as Messrs. Nehru and Das who have won the high esteem of the Government as well as of our countrymen and men like Mr.Lajpat Rai and the Ali brothers, who have

unflinchingly borne the darts of Government from the beginning, persons who create disturbances or incite riotous bodies to commit heinous crimes? How is it, in these circumstances, consistent on the part of the Government to say that they resorted to repression only to punish those that created disturbances and to prevent them from committing such acts? We must state here that the communique of the Government does not reflect either their foresight or their statesmanship. The Indian Social Reformer says, however, that the tone of Mr.Gandhi's letter is not characterized by its usual dignity and moderation and it may, to a certain extent, be true, for it is possible that in the circumstances in which he is now placed, he might have had no time to attend to the propriety or import of his expressions. But it is wrong either on the part of the Government or of others to attach importance thereto. And we would state in this connexion that the Bombay Committee should attend only to the matter dealt with by him and take further steps in regard thereto. We firmly trust that they will similarly condemn the wrath and the partiality exhibited by the Government of India in their reply. For, on an examination of the whole subject, all fair-minded people can say that the Government of India were certainly unjust in having stated that the demands of Mr. Gandhi Could not be fulfilled and those who know the whole affair will easily understand that the contention of the Government is an attempt to hide an eel in a sack. The latter very clearly refer to the fact of the resolution on civil disobedience having been adopted even before a rigorous resort to repression and argue therefrom that that movement was not started to put a stop to repression. But Mr.Gandhi has stated this fact without screening it even a little and has explained the same. He has also informed that he is prepared to suspend that movement, if the Government stop their repressive policy and release the

the victims thereof. Hence, whatever may be the tone of the letter, none can deny that this indicates a desire for peace. But from the fact that the Government did not note this desire but wrote a refutation in extenso on the minor points mooted therein, it cannot be inferred that they are intent upon the matter in hand and wish for peace at any cost. Though the statement, in conclusion, that the movement of civil disobedience will be repressed by a resort to vigorous and stringent measures, is a general one, it appears that it is directed mainly against the leaders and it is not dear whether such measures will be set in motion after or before any danger has arisen from that movement. Mr.Gandhi too is well aware of such danger and the Government are already in possession of sufficient data that he will stop that movement without the least hesitation in case there are causes that will give rise thereto. Even Sir Valentine Chirol and the Times of India, that cherish no good intention towards the Indians, admit that Mr.Gandhi possesses such rectitude. We therefore hope that the Government will not that if they take novel and stringent steps against Mr.Gandhi or others, they themselves may become responsible for the creation of a commotion and an agitation that have not arisen before.

Cong. Reverting to the panic caused in England by the distorted and false news furnished to British papers by several correspondents from here, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th February, refers to the non-co-operation movement and its chief factor, civil disobedience, as the main causes of alarm to these members and observes:--The object of the Congress is only that this movement should be worked on completely passive lines and the Government made to yield. No one can deny that this object has been mostly fulfilled. Without understanding the real situation in the country, the Government

are, on the strength of disturbances occurring here and there, throwing the whole blame on the non-co-operation movement. Lord Curzon's speech shows not only that repression is to be the future policy, but that the principle of 'divide and rule' will also be applied. Though his suggestions regarding Turkey savour of this principle, we do not think that they will be accepted by any self-respecting Moslem. The statement of Lord Curzon that we should be content for ever with the diarchy of Mr.Montagu really evokes laughter. Whether the movement of civil disobedience is set on foot or not, the time is fast approaching when the British Government will have to admit that the present reforms are useless.

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Genl. 24. Adverting to the doubt expressed in a previous issue as to whether the application of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, just before the date of the auction of liquor shops indicates that the object of the authorities is to prevent a reduction, in the bid amount, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th February, observes:-- But the application of this section is spreading all over the Presidency like an infectious disease, with-out being confined to purposes connected with liquor shops. Many Magistrates are serving orders under this section on several persons without understanding the object with which it has been included in the Code and the grounds on which it can be applied. For instance, the Sub-Magistrate of Nannilam has prohibited one Mr.G.M.Ramaswami Ayyar of Puthagaram, from delivering any lectures within his jurisdiction for a period of two months on the ground that, according to Police reports, he was delivering political lectures calculated to create a feeling of discontent towards the British Government and to bring about a breach

The vigour of repression.

of the public peace. Those versed in law will admit that it is not valid to issue such an order under section 144, Similarly, many persons in Trichinopoly and elsewhere have been dealt with under this section. Further, security sections also are being freely applied in regard to many persons. Though it is possible to prove that these are not valid in the eye of law, many persons are submissively undergoing the consequences without offering any defence, because they think that it will not be of any avail. We have to presume that the action taken recently against a number of leaders and propagandists is due to the statement in the recent reply of the Government of India to Mr.Gandhi, that they propose adopting severe and active measures. Though on account of the determination of the non-co-operators not to offer any defence in cases launched against them, the public have no chance to judge of the justice or otherwise of the decisions of Magistrates, the proceedings at least may be conducted openly as is done in all civilized countries. The authorities have come forward in many places to deny even this facility to the accused, their dependents and the public. When all parties strongly condemned the trial of the case against Mr.C.R.Das in camera inside the prison, Lord Ronaldshay gave an assurance in the Bengal Legislative Council that such enquiries in camera were conducted only very rarely and would not be repeated in future. It was stated in the Legislative Assembly that a circular had been issued by the Government of India suggesting the adoption of a similar procedure in other provinces also. It cannot, therefore reflect credit on the officials in Trichinopoly that, in spite of this, they should have conducted the cases against Doctor Rajan and other leaders in secret. It cannot be argued that an open trial will affect either public tranquillity or peace. It is, no doubt, true that Magistrates are empowered, in exceptional cases, to order the public to clear out of Courts. But there

should be proper grounds for doing this. Though the Magistrate may have some hesitation in hearing a case in open Court, it is but a very ordinary duty of his to apprise the accused as well as those entitled to watch the proceedings on their behalf of the fact of an enquiry being made inside the prison.

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P.P. 25. Remarking that it is becoming usual on the part of Magistrates to forget even the ordinary methods of procedure in the administration of justice, in their anxiety to prevent the spread of the non-co-operation movement and thus to secure the good will of the Government and thereby establish a claim for higher posts and that if, on the other hand, the statement in the Tribune that the Punjab Government have issued an order prohibiting all persons from interviewing Mr.Lajpat Rao, an under-trial prisoner in jail, be true, the public will certainly be led to think that this forms part of their repressive policy, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th February, writes:-- While it is the fundamental principle of civilized Governments that political prisoners should be treated with respect unlike ordinary ones, it is surprising indeed that they should be denied even the rights possessed by the latter. Besides, the denial of due rights even to the prisoners under-trial will lead the public to entertain a very low opinion about the object of the Government. Again, if it is a fact that, a reported, the sub-editor of the Bande Mataram who followed Mr.Lajpat Rai while he was taken out of jail was ordered to be pushed out by the District Magistrate of Lahore, we can only say that that conduct was not becoming the dignity of his high position. While, even as at present, the correspondents of Indian newspapers are labouring under great difficulties, it

Under-trial prisoners.

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will become very difficult for them to discharge their duties if they are also to be insulted in this manner. The Government of the Punjab are bound to inquire into this matter immediately and insist on the District Magistrate tendering an apology if the report is correct. If perhaps the object of the Government also is the same, it will be expedient for them to state it in plain terms so that the correspondents of newspapers may not expose themselves to such insults in future.

N.C.S. 28. Our friends know that, for a long time past, the Salem district has been in the van of political progress in the Tamil land and Lord Willingdon cannot forget for ever the welcome accorded to him with closed shops and black flags when he visited that town. Even so early as that time, the authorities took a vow to crush the spirit of Salem somehow or other and they are blindly resorting to repressive measures in pursuance of that vow. Hence, the severity of section 144 is increasing everywhere and all the volunteers who picketed toddy shops very vigorously are confined in jail. And it seems that, under the present regime in this district, all other rights than that of drinking may be destroyed in course of time.

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N.C.S. 29. The Tamil Nadue, of the 12th February, publishes an article under this heading from the pen of a correspondent, in which the following observations occur

Sedition.

among others:--Just as Lord Reading, our Viceroy has said in a lecture he delivered at Benares that the Indians have been loyalits for generations together several predecessors of his have expressed the same opinion on many occasions. There must certainly be special causes why a community, which has

been loyal for a very long time past, should have, all on a sudden, turned disloyal. The duty of the Government is, therefore, only to ascertain the real causes and remove them and it is not right on their part to bring charges of sedition against the people and to be ever sending them to jail one after another persistently. The Seditious Meetings Act is now in force in many places. But we cannot help condemning the unjust deeds committed in the name of that Act, for the very import thereof is not understood by certain officials and certain others knowing the same are wantonly connecting irrelevant circumstances. And the unfortunate resuts ensuing therefrom are many. For example, the Collector' suddenly arrested under this Act nine members of the Devastanam Committee of Angala in the Punjab who had met for considering a religious matter. If there was a modicum of regard for the pledge given by the late Queen Victoria, it was wrong on the part of that minor official to have at all interfered in a religious matter. Further, it was another act of stupidity on his part to have applied the Seditious Meetings Act. Why should not Lord Reading punish this Collector for these two acts of his? Again, it willbe good to publish, through the Publicity Bureau, a right interpretation of the word 'sedition' immediately.

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P.P.

Stray comments.

31. The Tamil Nadu, of the 12th February, publishes the following stray comments on a variety of subjects:--Mr.E.V.Ramaswami Nayakar, who was released from the Coimbatore jail last month, has published in clear terms the irregularities obtaining in that jail. But it is understood that, as a result of the authorities not caring even a little for those irregularities and providing the prisoners with

bad food as usual, Doctor Nayudu and certain others went on a hunger-strike. And we learn that it was only after good food was supplied that the latter began to take the same. We hope that at least hereafter, food fit to be taken by human beings will be given to political prisoners in other jails also.

We express our congratulations to Doctor Rajan and other patriots of the Tamil land for their having secured prison-life for which they have been longing for a long time past. It is a matter of common knowledge that they would certainly be convicted, as soon as they were arrested. While the volunteers of the Congress are knowcking at the gates of prison and are ready to enter within, there is no necessity at all for the authorities to bring false charges against them and launch prosecutions. It was stated in the notice served on Doctor Rajan and others that security proceedings would be taken against them as they intended to resort to violence and all people know that this is a gross lie. The reason why security was demanded from them is their patriotism and the zeal they evinced in the anti-drink propaganda. As a result of their imprisonment, however, many persons are disobeying the unjust orders of the authorities every day and are going to jail with great joy. We are greatly rejoiced at Trichinopoly, which is an important town in the Tamil land, being predominant even in the matter of its patriotism and courage and serving as an example to other places.

The Ministers of Bombay have finally issued orders dissolving the Municipal Councils of Ahmedabad and Surat for their having obeyed the mandate of the Congress. These two municipalities have well demonstrated the fact that nothing can be done in municipalities have well demonstrated the fact that nothing can be done in municipalities against the wishes of the authorities and that they have no true liberty,

Pro. 32. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th February, publishes a communication from a correspondent who intimates that, in the recent abkari sales at Tiruppur, Coimbatore district, people of diverse castes have purchased the shops for high amounts and that some shops had no bid at all on account of the accompaign carried on by Mr.V.C. Vellingiri Gounder, M.L.C., against people bidding for these shops.

The sale of liquor shops.

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Cong. 33. Referring to the recent resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress as being clearly indicative of the realisation, by Mr.Gandhi and other members thereof of their full responsibility in this situation and remarking that their application will obviate allneed for repression on the part of the Government, the Swadesamitran, of the 13th February, observes:--When the executive of the Congress realising their full responsibility, have done their duty and are prepared to act up to it, we expect the Government to come forward to discharge their duty by withdrawing all the repressive laws and ordering the immediate release of all those convicted. While the Working Committee of Congress have, of their own accord, completely fulfilled the terms dictated by the Viceroy and others, the Government should lose no moment in discharging their duty. If they fail to do so, it is no longer possible to deny that they are responsible for any situation that may arise in the country in the future.

The anxiety of the Working Committee.

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MR. 35. Approving of an observation by the Indian Social Reformer, that the paradoxical characteristics of haste and sloth on the part of the Government are mainly responsible for the creation of the present situation in the country, a correspondent to the Tamil Nadu, of the 12th February, writes, under this heading, as follows:--The reforms now given to us are good for nothing. If the Legislative Councils of other Provinces resolve like that of the United Provinces to stop, within three years, their contribution to the Central Government completely and if the words of Mr.Pussy foot" Johnson, to a press representative that the anti-drink movement will achieve victory soon, come to be fulfilled completely within two years, as they have come to be fulfilled to a large extent in the very first year, I can give this assurance that the fortness of diarchy will be demolished to pieces. If, again, the movement of Mr. Gandhi gains strength, it will not take even that time. This is not the proper time for the Government to give such paltry reforms; they should have granted the same about 15 years ago. Their sloth is apparent in this matter. Regarding their characteristic of haste, the present situation of the country is very unsatisfactory; discontent and a thirst for liberty are much in evidence amongst the people and the bureaucracy is thundering by means of its repression. The Dravida party have joined the bureaucracy and are wounding the minds of the nationalists. Again, to appease the loud cry of the people, the Government are now appointing several committees in great haste; but these are not so constituted as to be able to do proper work. For example, they have recently appointed two Committees to advice them in the matter of Abkari and Public Works, both of which are to be presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Patro who is also the Minister for Education. Further, he begins, at frequent intervals, to condemn the non-co-operation

The bureaucracy.

movement. The other nine members thereof are members of the Legislative Council and we can very easily understand how much of other work they have on hand,. Is it difficult to find other members, official or non-official? Do the Government believe that these persons alone will do their duty according to their own opinion and have they no confidence in others? Will not true work be turned out by dividing several kinds of work among several people rather than crowding them together in the hands of a few persons? How can we refrain from condemnation, so long as things are conducted like this? If the Government have a sincere desire to do such acts as will yield genuine results, we would suggest to them that they should do things in such a manner as not to give room for grave complaints like these.

Genl. 37. Indian affairs in the House of Lords.

Referring to the statement of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords during the recent discussion therein of Indian affairs, that the cause of the present political unrest in this country is threefold; viz., the after-effects of the recent European war, such as, high princes, decrease in commerce and heavy taxes, the unpleasant memories of the incidents in 1919 and the Mussalman religious agitation, the Dravidan, of the 13th February, admits that the above causes are, in a way, responsible for the present situation and observes:--The fact that, for some years past, our country has been a prey to famine and pestilence gave a handle to the extremists to blame the Government for everything and raise an agitation. Our country suffered great economic loss during the long protracted European war and the failure of seasonal rains added to the hardships of the people. The war necessitated the imposition of heavy taxes by the Government. So, unless the economic condition

is improved, the present miserable plight cannot be altered. As regards the agitation in connexion with the Punjab, something has been done to abate it, as the Government have expressed their regret for all the acts committed in that connexion on their responsibility and have also released many sentenced under the Martial Law. We hope that they will take further steps to completely remove the discontent of the people in this matter, though it is regrettable indeed that Lord Curzon has not mentioned anything about what the English Government propose to do for completely removing the discontent in the land on this account. Lord Curzon's statement that the Khilafat agitation is the outcome of sedition is not, however untrue. It cannot at the same time be screened that the generality of the Mussalmans attach a religious significance to the Khilafat agitation and are therefore dissatisfed with the British Raj. So, it is essential that the Government should comply with the wishes of the Mussalmans.

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N.C.S. 38. Referring to the contention of the Mahratta, that Mr.

The contention of the Mahratta.

Gandhi had no cause for unnecessarily suspending the movement of civil disobedience in the Bardoli taluk and that it is meaningless to give up Bardoli because of the incidents which occurred in Gorakpur, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th February, quotes the substance of the arguments advanced by the aforesaid paper to the following effect: Rumour is rife and Mr. Gandhi proposes to suspend civil disobedience. Where is the necessity for suspension, if Bardoli is in readiness? It is quite impracticable that civil disobedience should be resorted to only after complete tranquillity is established throughout India.

Genl. 40. The Swadesamitran, of the 14th February, publishes in Tamil an abstract of the lectures delivered by Mr.M.Singaravelu Chettiyar, the President of the Madras Congress Committee, at Tiruvottiyur on the 6th and the 12th idem, in the course of which he is said to have made the following observations among others:--At present, about 150 crores of ruppees are being collected by way of taxes. Out of this, over 60 crores are being spent for a lakh of English soldiers and two lakhs of sepoys. As in our country, there is no fear of invasion by any foreigner, we have to presume that they maintian such a huge army only for keeping us in subjection. Until untouchabality is given up, the Government will continue to adopt the policy of divide and rule by drawing away the people of low castes from us. Are you not aware of the disruption of the Labour Union which was comprised of caste-Hindus and Pariahs? So, if swaraj should be established, we should live in union with the Pariahs. Swaraj is certain to be attained; it is but a question of time. It cannot be prevented by means of jails, the sword and the cannon of the Government.

Lectures at Tiruvottiyur.

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S.R. 42. Referring to the rejection of the proposals made by Mr.Gandhi in his recent letter, by the Government, the Andhrapatrika, of the 7th February, observes in its leader:--The fact that the Government have continued to adopt a policy of repression in spite of a storm of protest from responsible leaders only shows what respect they have for popular opinion. What more is required to show the immediate necessity for swaraj? From what the Government are saying, there is no doubt that even Mr.Gandhi will soon be arrested. With his arrest, repression will grow more severe. Under these circumstances, there is

The Mahtma's letter and the reply to it.

is no room for party spirit and difference of opinion. When national honour is at stake, all parties should join together, listen to the call of Mother India, and dedidate themselves for the cause of the freedom of their country.

Genl. 43. Referring to the remark of Sir William Vincenntx to the effect that prisoners sentenced for transportation will be sent to the Andamans, from certain provinces and that Mr.Montagu has approved of it, the Andhrapatrika, of the 7th February, remarks:--The Jail Committee gave in their report a graphic description of the hellishness of the Andaman Islands. Their recommendations were accepted by the Government. Nevertheless, the old method is again being put into effect. So long as the Government are not responsible to the people, such things will be happending very often.

The hellish Andamans.

Col. 46. Under this heading, the Hitakarini, of the 6th February, writes:--Under the pretext of voluntary repatriation the South African Government have sent away with the help of the Government of India many Indians to this country, deceitfully holding out the hope to them that there are many appointments here awaiting them. Their difficulties are too well-known to be described in detail here.

East Africa.

The same paper then refers to the Kenya question, and observes:--The British do not like the company of the Indians. They do not like that others should live an independent life there. We should not go to Canada, South Africa and Australia. They have shut the doors of East Africa

Africa too against us.

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Col. 48. Indians in South Africa. Under this heading, the Hitakarini, of the 6th February, refers to the repatriation of the South African Indians, and observes:--This is horrible. God only knows what justice there is in subjecting the Indians to various disabilities after the African forests have been redeemed from savagery with their help. They were given the hope that the Government in India will cenfer appointments on them. Believing in these sweet words and giving up their just claims, some of them came away to India, but with what result? They are suffering without food and clothing and without home. It does not appear that the British Government in India are affording facilities in this direction. Many came. Some are on their way. Thousands are ready. What is to be their lot? They have passive resistance still in their hands.

S.R. 50. The means to attain swaraj. Referring to the statement of Lord Reading that Swaraj could be got by India only at the hands of the Parliament the Andhra-vani, of the 7th January (received on the 3rd February), observes:--It is his impression that the assent of the Parliament is essential for India getting swaraj and that it depends upon the honour shown to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in his tour through in India. This impression is a wrong one. It is wrong to suppose that the hartals have been observed as a mark of disrespect to His Royal Highness. The object of these hartals is to make His Royal Highness understand the present economic and political situation in India and the discontent of the people...The Chief means of Indians attaining swaraj is their firm resolve.

The Parliament can only be an accidental cause. The non-co-operators have set about to strengthen this determination of the Indians. By a recourse to repression the bureaucracy also is helping them. So, neither the sword nor the Parliament can give swaraj to India. The only means to get it, is the prison. May repressive measures be on the increase and may swaraj be hastened.

N.C.S. 51. In the course of an article on the Leader's Conference the Andhravani, of the 7th January

The Bombay Conference.

makes the following remarks:--What is the object of the repressive policy now enforced by the Government? It is indeed to dismember the Congress and take its life.......The Government were incensed at the hartals. Anger has blinded them. They are fostering arrogance. They mistake truth for falsehood and falsehood for truth and impute to national volunteers violent acts. They declare Congress volunteer associations to be unlawful assemblies and have undertaken to destroy them. Under these circumstances what programme should the Bombay Conference lay down? It should not be the duty of the people to sacrifice their all to protect their birth-rights and to join the volunteer associations in large numbers to encounter the bureaucracy. They should not now mind their mutual differences. They should engage in the struggle with a singleness of purpose. They should encounter the anger of the rulers with their non-violence and oppose the evil disposition of the bureaucracy with their goodness.

R.T.C. 53. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 8th February, writes:--

Efforts for a Round-table Conference..Its future prospect.

If the policy of repression is not abandoned and the political prisoners, set free, how can there be any settlement? Without consulting leaders like the Ali brothers, C.R.Das, Nehru and Lajput Rai, it is clear that no settlement will be possible. For arriving at a settlement, there must be a change of heart; but nothing of that sort is to be found in Lord Reading. Under these circumstances, even if some settlement is arrived at, it will only look like patchwork.

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P.P. 59. The Trilinga, of the 4th February, writes under this heading:--

Political offenders.

Indians who have plunged themselves in the war of righteousness, condemning brute force, are considered offenders by the authorities and are deprived of their freedom. In the prisons they are considered as no better than thieves and robbers. It is the duty of every civilised Government to treat political offenders with special regard. May the authorities here arrange for special conveniences for these people, and not forego their reputation for civilised rule by subjecting them to physical discomforts. The recent discussion in the Madras Legislative Council about this question is another proof of the futilities of these Councils. It laid bare their angle of vision and betokened their unwisdom. The speech of the Law Member on behalf of the Government is very regrettable. He did not agree to give political offenders even the comforts afforded to them by the other Provinces in India. He tried to proclaim the nobility of the Government in not arresting people in this Presidency under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. But is it just to subject thousands of leaders to severe punishments under ordinary laws? He has not

not considered how perversely the ordinary criminal law is enforced to-day. Let us see how longer the councils filled with such men will continue to act in violation of the people's wishes.

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S.R. 60. The Trilinga, of the 4th February, concludes an article under this heading as follows:-

The grant of swaraj.

India cannot wait for the committee to be appointed by the Parliament some time in the future. The scheme of Reforms prepared by the Congress should at once be assented to by the Parliament. India will not keep idle till the result of the examination is published. It should soon be determined whether she should get swaraj within the Empire or sever herself from the Empire and have independent swaraj. The Indian Nation will hereafter regard every moment of India's bondage, are as awful period. It will therefore conduce to the welfare of not only the Indians but also the British Empire, if the British recognise the aspirations of the people at an early date and grant them swaraj.

Genl. 61. Remarking that it is not proper on the part of the British to say that the Indians have not become fit to enjoy complete swaraj, the Kanthirava, of the 7th February, remarks:--It is a good sign of the

The non-co-operation movement.

7th February, remarks:--It is a good sign of the progress of human society that the Indians have broad-based their tremendous agitation on the foundation of peace and forberance. Now let the British understand that they cannot ~~let the British understand that they canot~~ fight setting aside all their former promises. There is no meaning in the statement that the Indians are carrying on this agitation

with a view to hamper their national progress. History does not show even a single agitation which was as peaceful and non-violent as this. Though it is true that the agitators have been carrying on a peaceful war against the prestige of the present Government in India, it has to be admitted that this agitation is directed against no individual or nation. It is only opposed to the system of Government that is now obtaining in this country.

Secondly let the British understand that though it is possible for a handful of rowdies to create disturbances in a few places in an extensive country like India, it is not proper to brand the whole nation as prone to violence.

Thirdly the British should understand that they will never be able to create as Ulster in India at any time. Though the policy of 'divide and rule' may succeed for a time, it is impossible that it will succeed for all time. The selfish bureaucracy may deem this policy profitable for a time. But such a policy is surely detrimental to a just and wise administration.

It is, therefore, the duty of the British people to understand aright the true state of affairs in this country before they proceed to give their consent to allthe acts of Government in this country. An ignorant autocracy produces far greater evils than an ignorant democracy.

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Genl.

64. The Andrapatirka, of the 10th February, writes under this heading:--Colonel John Ward was of opinion that the present critical situation in India was due to the Secretary of State thrusting British institutions upon India. It is his object that bureaucratic rule should continue in India for ever. Colonel Ward need not fear. He may know that

The Parliament and India.

there is not much difference between the situation before and that after the reforms. The events indicate that the bureaucratic rule in India is now severe than ever. The protection of the people's birthrights have not been given by the reforms. Opportunity has not been afforded for the freedom of speech and of the press. Whatever course events may take, Indians are no more dependent either on the favour of the Parliament or the kindness of the British. They chiefly depend upon self-help.

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Cong. 66. A correspondent to the Kistnapatrika, of the 31st December (received on 17th February 1922), writes:--While the Government are proclaiming to the world what bureaucratic authority means by preventing meetings, gagging speakers, arresting volunteers and imprisoning leaders, what are the Ministers who were born and brought up among the people and who boast to be their representatives doing? Are they having an easy time of it pocketing Rs.5,000 a month, getting jewels made for their wives, driving the motor-cars and travelling in Railway saloons? Can there be a greater sin than this? They shut their mouths and keep silent. What are those who run up to attend co-operation meetings doing to-day? Do they approve of these drastic measures or condemn them? The members of your party who call themselves liberals x express their disapproval of repression. Did you sever yourselves from that party? When Sir Sankaran Nayar resigned his office at the time of the Punjab riots you applauded it. But when your turn came, you could not give up your offices but believe that the Rs.5,000 you receive is to be preferred to the interests of the country.......When our Ministers themselves are serving as a prop to the

What are the Ministers doing?

bureaucracy why should the authorities be blamed? There is no doubt that the Ministers are responsible for the repressive acts of the Government. If they had emphatically protested against it the authorities would not have ventured to have recourse to it. The resignation by the Ministers of their offices, would mean the betrayal of the arbitrary conduct of the Government. But what do they now say? They have no reason to ask, when your Ministers themselves are encouraging usto suppress the non-co-operation movement by all means, are we to blame?" This is the evil of raising the Indians to eminence without granting freedom to the people. The dark-coloured authorities are worse than the white authorities in the rigidity of their conduct. We must ask the Government for only one thing. If you give us freedom we shall be satisfied Otherwise, you had better enjoy all the high posts yourselves. To give Indians high posts is very disastrous so long as the Government do not hold themselves responsible to the people. It is like cutting our own throats. To grant reforms piecemeal will not do. When the Indians who are in servitude have big offices conferred on them, they make us understand that Europeans who are lovers of freedom are to be preferred.

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Genl. 70. **The Knapp Committee's Report.** Apropos of the news that the Knapp Committee's Report was first published in England instead of being published in India, the Kanthirava, of the 7th February, in a short note under this heading, writes:--All trouble would have been saved if Government had clearly said that English opinion is all in all in every matter. There would have remained no room to complain that things are being done on the sly without giving any information in advance. If our Government had published beforehand what they intended to do, we could

have found out what our real position is and what consideration is being shown to us in our country. May it be that some of the subordinates in the India office published this report carelessly, when our Government were waiting for a suitable opportunity to publish it at a time when the attention of our people was directed elsewhere? Even the omniscient publicity Officer is not able to enlighten us on this subject!

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71. Criticising the communique issued by the Government of India in reply to the open letter addressed by Mr.Gandhi to the Viceroy the Swadeshabhimani, of the 10th February, in an article under this head-line, remarks:--It is indeed a matter for surprise and regret that the repression now reigning suppreme in this country does not appear as such to the eyes of the Viceroy........The Mahatma has tried all means in hispower to avert the impending danger. But as the stonehearted bureaucracy remains stubborn, it seems as if there is no other alternative left for the people than starting civil disobedience.

The Mahatma and the Government of India.

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72. The Malabar Islam, of the 10th February, observes that the reply given by the Government of India to Gandhi's manifesto ment that repression is pursued in order to suppress lawlessness is untenable, in view of the arrests of respected leaders like Nehru, Das, Lajpatrai and the Ali brothers. It remarks further that there is no doubt that several events of the foremost importance in the history of India will not begun to take place in uninterrupted succession.

The present political situation.

The present political situation.

In a long leading article, the Malayala Manorama, of the 7th February, exposes the self-contradictions and inconsistencies of Mr.Gandhi, and points out that, in view of his confession of inability to control the passions of the masses, his determination to advise the people to follow civil disobedience is altogether untenable and that his ultimatum forebodes grave disaster to the country. In the course of the article, the paper remarks that the Government on their part should quicken the pace of progress towards the goal of self-government for India.

Referring to Mr.Gandhi's ultimatum and the reply of the Government, the Sreevazumcode, of the 11th February. It says that there are clear indications that civil disobedience is becoming more acceptable than even before in India, and that it cannot now be predicted what new forms it will assume and where it will end.

Adverting to the same subject, the Swarat, of the 9th February, refers to the abdurate temperament of this irresponsible Government' to whom repression and setting at naught of public opinion have become a habit, and it writes:-- The wholesale arrests of non-co-operators and the introduction of laws which deprive the people of their elementary rights have served to besmear with charcoal the fair face of the goddess of the peace in the land. Such action of the Government is apparently not repression! To treat arrested non-co-operators as meaner than dogs and to deal with them with rakshasaic cruelty do not seem to be repression!! The action of the police entering and looting the houses of some of the arrested non-co-operators and stripping women of their clothes

and insulting them is not repression forsooth!!. As a matter of fact as Mahatma Gandhi pointed out the Government have, from the time they commenced the policy of repression, been spreading the cult of brutality, and, for preserving intact the force of autocracy, been visibly abusing human nature. These things are now hidden away and the challenge is thrown at the non-co-operators........It thinks that the Government communique shows that the Government have no idea whatever what the result would be of this challenge of theirs made to their enemy without realising the latter's position and nature. It points out that the challenge completely shatters the hope of Round-table Conference and observes that no such event can occur so long as the Government relies on physical force--on their army and cannon-to shatter public opinion, and that unless a change in the temperament of the Government really comes about, efforts to hold a Round-table Conference or to effect a compromise or to restore peace and tranquillity will not be crowned with success. Let those who harbour the vain hope of arriving at a peaceful settlement through the Government have freedom nevertheless to run after that mirage in the desert.

Genl. 73. The Swarat, of the 14th February, adversely criticises speech of Lord Curzon and others in the House of Lords regarding Indian matters, and observes:--Let Lord Curzon understand that the right of self-determination and self-government are not the monopoly of the Westerners. Let the world understand that the Indians, who were hitherto worshipping the whites as Gods and were content to remain under their boots, do not wish

Lord Curzon's speech on Indian affairs.

to perpetiate that disgraceful life bereft of self-respect and manliness and that no Lord Curzon or Churchill or Lloyd George can manage to cause them to deviate a hair's breadth from that resolution........

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74. The Kerala Chandrika, of the 13th and the Malayali, of the 15th February, condemn the prohibition by the Madras Government of the singing of National songs in theatres and deprecates copying the madness in Native States, like Travancore.

Prohibition of National songs.

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78. In an article (communicated) the Kerala Sanchari, of the 8th February, points out that the diffusion of education amongst the ignorant Mappillas, the introduction of industries for giving work to the unemployed, removal of the existing evils of land tenure, such as giving Melcharths, and eviction on flimsy grounds, formation of the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks as a separate police districe, the conversion of the present police outposts into police stations and the establishment of new outposts where necessary, the permanent stationing of the military at Malappuram and other places and the improvement of the means of communication in the Mappilla taluks, e.g., the construction of light railways, etc., are necessary for the reconstruction of Malabar and hopes that the Special Commissioner will bring these matters to the notice of the Government of Madras and that the Madras Government will place them before the Government of India.

Malabar reconstruction.

The 'Kerala Patrika, of the 4th February, suggests that co-operative banks with Government financial help should be established in famine-stricken areas in Malabar and that free gifts of money should be made to the deserving poor for constructing houses and purchasing implements, and observes that it is the duty of the authorities to find out and recover from the Mappillas and their secret friends properties that were looted from the Hindus. The paper calls upon the people to render all necessary help to the Special Commissioner.

Malabar reconstrucrion.

Cong. 81. The Qaumi Report, of the 8th February, has an article of which the following is a full translation. The reply of the Viceroy to the ultimatum of the Mahatmaji is couched in terms that require no elaboration. We already know that the Viceroy is not anxious for peace and tranquillity in the country, and that he does not desire that the people of India should obtain tranquillity and comfort. As soon as he set his foot in India he dealt a dead blow to justice and now we are seeing he does not wish to swerve even an inch from his headlong course. We have carefully read the reply of the Viceroy and have not found a single word from the beginning to the end that is beneficial. Therefore we cannot clean the Viceroy's garment of the blood of peace and tranquillity. The Viceroy has left no stone unturned in his intimidation of the Mahatmaji and has shown the force of his power more than enough. We are, however, indifferent of the threats of the Government. We know full well that at present the wrath of the Government is in its initial stage and at such a time one's senses are not in their normal condition and one does not foresee the consequences of

The reply to the ultimatum.

one's utterances. This applies to the answer of the Viceroy which we have brought to light. If the Government have the sharp sword of repression we have by the grace of God sufficient resources to keep ourselves safe therefrom and we can easily oppose this sharp sword provided we do not lose heart and do our work with patience and perseverance. This is a patent fact that the sharpest steel sword with the blows of which heads may be cut off loses its force against water. Even though this sword may cut water into two but the water re-assumes its original shape forthwith. Even the trace of the blow cannot be found on its surface. If the Viceroy has all the materials required for repression and if he fully relies thereon we possess the impregnable fort of defence which consists of mildness and non-violence and we will D.V. surely be successful. That is if we are not discourages and keep free from the deadly germs of despondency. There is a tradition "Two things are fatal to man, viz, miserliness and despondency." High-minded men regard despondency as infidelity. We should not be afraid of worldy powers. These powers are transient, then how can they destroy others.

Verse. When he himself is lost, how can he guide another?

The Viceroy has in his reply ignored the demand of the Mahatmaji and has replied in absurd terms. The Mahatmaji has opposed this kind of procedure from the very beginning but our moderate brethren thought the Government have regained their senses and are exploring and avenues for a compromise. Now the moderates also know that the Government do not admit their mistakes and they are very proud of their power which is transient and liable to decay.

We represented to the Viceroy what was the end of the unparalleled power of Shaddad and Nimrod and the limits to which their pride carried them. Although we are weak and wanting

in power and have no pride of Pharoah, but the Quran has shown us the destruction of the companions of the Elephant and Nimrod. Are we unaware of the amazing power of Ababils (swallows) and mosquitores? We rely on the Creator of the Universe more than the Viceroy depends on guns, and rifles--to be continued.

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M.E. 82. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 9th February, discusses at length the benefits and losses that will accrue to the Hindus and Mussalmans respectively by the attainment of swaraj, and warns the latter that when swaraj becomes an accomplished fact, these selfsame Hindu friends will expel their Muslim countrymen on the plea that they are foreigners.

Political existence.

If Mussalmans wish to revolutionise their political life and elevate it, then they should not rely on Hindus. On the countrary they should cut themselves free from Hindu (friends will expel their Muslim countrymen on the plea that they are foreigners) union, and endeavour to improve their own education, culture, and manners.

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P.P. 83. The Qaumi Report, of the 12th Febeuary referring to the present ill-treatment of the Ali brothers, and other political prisoners at the Karachi jail, viz., making a thorough search of their persons by forcibly stripping them, observes that such unlawful treatment of political prisoners is like the opening of a new chapter in a so.called civilized country like ~~kxixmxxxxxixxixxexxtxxxopxxixxgxxfxaxnexxchapterx~~ Britain, and has caused unbearable sorrow and grief to the Muslim community The writer asks whether the Government have determined to wound Muslim hearts to the uttermost, if so, such unlawful actions of the Government will bring about unpleasant consequences for them.

Ill-treatment of the Ali brothers.

The writer referring to the resolution passed at a meeting held in Bombay under the presidency of Sait Chotani Sahib regarding the question of the Ali brothers, invites the attention of the Mussalmans of Madras, and pursuades them to follow the example of the Muhammadans of Bombay, and adapt such non-violent measures as will maintain our national prestige.

NCS.

He further adds that it is time now for all the districts to get themselves ready, follow suit with the Andhra district and to accelerate their speed in that direction, and observes that the tyranny practised on this occasion of stripping persons even while at prayers, can hardly find a parallel in the history of Chengiz Khan. Finally he asks the Muslim co-operators whether such an action of the Government is not sufficient reason for them to sever their connexion with the authorities.

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For the week ending 25th February 1922.

NO. 8 OF 1922.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col. 6. Mr.Chruchill's speech regarding Kenya.

Adverting to an excerpt from a speech of Mr.Churchill in which he is stated to have said that Kenya is a white colony and it is impossible for the Indians to have any admission into it, the Kanthirava, of the 14th February, in a short note, remarks:-- Somehow Mr.Chruchill has forgotten the fact that it was the Indians that laboured hard to make Kenya fit for habitation. The solemn promises and assurances of many a Viceroy that the Indians would be given equal rights of citizenship in that colony have now been broken. Mr. Chruchill seems to feel satisfied by the thought that it is enough if the whites who entered in this colony after the Indians should be able to lead a happy and undisturbed life there. Oh! Where is the Racial Distinctions Inquiry Committee and where is the mealy-mouthed Mr.Churchill! Enough of our endeavours to preserve our honour in foreign countries! Let us first acquire liberty in our own country. ~~We shall then be in a position to acquire liberty in our own country.~~ We shall then be in a position to acquire liberty in foreign countries as well, without the help of men like Mr.Chruchill.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

Genl. 9. Referring to this topic, the Swadesamitran, of the 18th February, writes as follows:--

"Panchama youths in schools."

By the Government having sanctioned the opening, by the local bodies, of separate schools for Panchama boys, they have conducted themselves as if they have countenanced the objects put forth by the caste Hindus. Hence, the efforts now made in this behalf are such as will yield beneficial results only little by little. The policy of the Government in this matter is not commendable. A feeling that the Panchamas are their own brethren must be instilled into the minds of the people throughout the country and steps taken so as to prevent any one from doing such mischievous acts as will lead the Panchamas to regard the other Hindus as their enemies. As this question is a very intricate one, we are of opinion that the Government should not be under the impression that their present policy itself is excellent but should call for a conferrence of men experienced in the field and consider the same for finding out a method more commendable than the present one.

N.C.S. 14. After characterising the reasons given by the Minister in charge of Local Self-government for the postponement of elections in the Bezwada municipality, as insipid, the Andhrapatrika, of the 20th February, says:--

Bezwada municipality.

This is simply a device resorted to see that the non-co-operators do not enter the Municipal Council. Even now the Minister is allowing delay in the matter instead of rectifying the wrong done in the past, and agreeing to the resolutions

passed by the Municipal Council that elections must take place by the 18th of March. What more proof is needed than the Chirala and the Bezwada incidents to show how the Minister for Local Self-government is flouting popular opinion in matters relating to Local self-government.

Prb. 15. In reviewing the Abkari Administration report of the Madras Government for 1920-21,

Abkari Administration report.

the Venkatespatrika, of the 4th February, says that the sole object of the Abkari administration of the Government is to fill their coffers, as is evident from the fact that the picketers of liquor shops have been punished. It remarks that the "work of the volunteers which deprived the Government treasury of 92 lakhs of rupees is praiseworthy".

N.C.S. 16. The Samarasabodhini, of the 19th January, publishes a communication from a national volunteer who appeals in the following strain to the youths of the Tamil land to be up for serving their country:

An exhortation to the youths of the Tamil land.

O youths of the Tamil land! Mother Bharata is ordering you now to sacrifice the education which inculcates a slavish spirit. Do it soon and enlist yourselves as volunteers in the Force declared unlawful by the Government, as this is the proper time for suffering hardships in order to establish swaraj. Look at Calcutta. The histories of Italy, Egypt, Turkey and other countries demonstrate the fact that the political liberty of a country depends on its youths;Do not year to enter prison in large numbers.

N.C.S. 17. A correspondent to the Vartakamitran, of the 22nd January, refers to the critical situation of the country at present and, pointing to the efforts made by some persons to bring about a Round-table Conference, observes:--Mr.Gandhi has shown by his action that the non-co-operators are amenable to discipline and that is quite sufficient for us. We understand that far more severe measures of repression are in store. If this is true, the salvation for this country is near at hand, inasmuch as the mediators also will join the non-co-operators them and the authorities will lose even the slight support they have had till now.

The present situation.

Discussing in the course of a leader, the possibility or otherwise of the Government acceding to the prayer of those who assembled in conference at Bombay, the Samarasabhodini, of the 26th January, observes:Taking all this into consideration, we have to presume that the Viceroy is not in favour of any compromise. If the persists in not yielding to the resolutions passed at the Bombay Conference, what are the moderates going to do? It is but natural to expect that, if they care for self-respect, they will at once accept the creed of the Congress, join the non-co-operation movement and work in support of Mr.Gandhi. Such xxx an attitude on the part of the Viceroy will mean that all his professions till now, that he wanted to bring about peace and tranquillity in the country, were but empty words.

Coml. 18. Referring to the opinion expressed by the Rev.C.F. Andrews, who had gone to study the condition in Malabar, that the cause of the disturbances there

The situation in Malabar.

was the harsh treatment meted out by the Hindu mirasidars to their Mappilla tenants as well as the Khilafat wrong and there is a likelihood of the Hindus trying to attack the Mappillas after the present trouble is over and to his suggestion that Mr.Gandhi should visit Malabar at this juncture and pacify both the parties by means of his advice, the Vinodini, of the 1st February, remarks that, if the Madras Government will not this suggestion and see that Mr.Gandhi goes to Malabar, a recurrence of the disturbances will be avoided and asks whether they will do so.

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N.C.S. 19. Characterising the action of the majority of the members of the local Legislative Council during its session on the 14th February 1922 in having conducted themselves forgetting

Collection of taxes and the popular representatives.

that they are the representatives of the tax-paying public, as being highly improper, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th idem, writes:--No one takes exception to the fact of the people belonging to the Justice party having as a result of the non-co-operation movement, secured seats on the Legislative Council and become Ministers. But that, on this account, they should have ventured to speak disparagingly of Mr. Gandhi and his pure aims even after the suspension of the movement of civil disobedience, will indeed be detestable to the people, whatever party they may belong to: In consenting to the passing of the Revenue Recovery Bill, perhaps they deemed it to be their duty to invest the executive with an

additional power which is likely to cause trouble to the people, even though there may be no need for it. When the Government asked for the enactment of a new law regarding the collection of revenue, many only indulged in the opportunity thus afforded to them to revile the non-co-operation movement and to cast asperions on Mr.Gandhi and condemned, in abusive language, both the movement and its leader but scarcely realized that the legislation sought by the Government might be applied in such a way as to cause hardship to those that returned them to the Council. The Justice party only rejoiced in the idea that the object of this legislation was to combat the non-co-operation movement, but did not pay any consideration whatever to the fact that there was no necessity for the legislation as the Working Committee of the Congress had resolved to suspend the movement of non-payment of taxes immediately. One of the arguments advanced was that the Act would be enforced by the Government only when there was a necessity for it and that there was no harm therefore, in getting it passed as a precautionary measure and investing the Government thereby with special powers. This argument cannot stand an y scrutiny. It is but natural for one without any arms to be quiet and for one with arms to feel inclined to use the same. Further, one may also become a prey to the very mischief unnecessarily created by oneself. It is therefore strange that the members of the Legislative Council who ventured to pass the Bill failed to note that the same Bill might afflict themselves. The Justice Party seem to have paid no heed to the observation of Mr.N.A.V.Somasundaram Pillai that the Act would seriously affect the innocent poor pattadars in times of pecuniary stringency and that, inasmuch as many of the non-co-operators owned no lands, it would not in any way tell upon their movement. The aforesaid party ~~seem to have paid no heed to the observation of Mr.N~~

frequently assert that the people are law-abiding and are not non-co-operators ~~(owned no lands, it would not in any way tell upon their movement. The)~~ and that, with the exception of a few agitators there are none favouring the non-co-operation movement. If that is the case, there is no need for this legislation. Even supposing that, on account of the threats of some agitators, there is a necessity for the application of such a law in a few places, it cannot be stated that a situation has arisen necessiating the application of the law throughout the Presidency. Judging from the manner in which sections 107, 108 and 144 are now being applied, who can guarantee that the application of this Act will not be resorted to even in areas where there is no need for the same? Before passing a Bill into law, it is usual to subject it to scrutiny in several ways and to refer it to a Select Committee after discussing its merits and demerits in the Council at the time of its introduction. No reply has yet been given on behalf of the Government to the objection raised that section 4 of the Bill deprives the mirasidars of their present right to have the distraint released by making payments subsequent to the sale of the property and that it is not equitable to do so. It is indeed the misfortune of the people that the majority of the members voted in favour of the proposition that the Council should immediately proceed to pass the Bill without referring it to a Select Committee for a calm consideration of its provisions especially when some of these provisions are likely to endanger the rights of mirasidars as stated above. The sufferings already experienced by the people in regard to the payment of kists are indescribable and when they are urging for greater facilities being afforded to them in the matter of payment of kist, these gentlemen have come forward to help the authorities with more stringent measures for the realization of arrears of kist. We, therefore, expect the

people themselves to realise if such gentlemen can continue to be their representatives any longer and seek the proper remedy. We have to conclude that the majority of the members of the Council deemed it to be their sole duty yesterday to support everything opposed to non-co-operation and gave their consent to act in accordance with the wishes of the member of the Government in all respects. They do not appear to have acted with a consciousness that the measures proposed by the Government might prove prejudicial to the people in the long run and that it was their duty to see that such a contingency did not arise.

Pro. 20,. Adverting to the reply of the Government to the interpellation of Diwan Bahadur M.Ramachandra Rao at the session of the Madras Legislative Council on the 16th February 1922,

Application of section 144 at Salem.

as to the reason why Mr.Venkatappa Chettiyar, the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Salem, has been prohibited from carrying on the anti-drink campaign by an order under section 144, that no order has been issued prohibiting him from carrying on that campaign, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th February, observes:--This is indeed a very clever reply; but it is certainly very strange that, after having prohibited Mr.Chettiyar from speaking at public meetings, a statement should be made that he has not been prohibited from carrying on a propaganda against drink. It would have been praiseworthy, however, had Mr. Rao put a supplemental question and elicited an answer as to whether the carrying on of that propaganda without speaking at public meetings was acceptable to the government has been so adriotly framed as to suit the wording of that interpellation.

N.C.S. 21. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th February, publishes ~~for~~ the following tit bits from the pen of a correspondent:--

Tit bits.

I thought that peace would reign after the great war had ceased; but alas! the devil of greed has not left the land. The bureaucracy has turned mad and Lord Reading has proved to be worse than Lord Chelmsford. As he brought justice in his hands, he is perhaps doling it out to the Indians now. It is only his needless panic, however, that has turned all his justice into his present policy.

It is said that, ~~while~~ while the Mappilla disturbances were at their zenith, Lord Willingdon received orders from England to enter into terms with the Mappillas and that the noble Lord who is for reforming (dagrading) Madras, tendered his resignation thrice, as he was not willing to accede thereto. Perhaps, the resignation was not accepted! Had it been accepted, repressive measures would not have been in evidence with so much vigour.

Both Mr.Gandhi and the other people of the country are labouring exceedingly hard to prevent India from following the path of Ireland. But the authoritis say:-- "you will be prosperous only if you become like Ireland." We do not, however, know that the will and orders of Mother Bharata are.

N.C.S. 22. Reverting to this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th February, writes:--On a deep consideration of Mr.Montagu's speech, there is reason to think that, as against, his old pretence that he was wholly devoted to the cause of Indian nationalism, he has now assumed an attitude of wreaking vengeance against the national ~~propagandists~~ propagandists,. He has stated that it is impossible for one remaining ~~in remaining~~ in London to establish law and order in India. It follows therefore that the sole responsibility of establishing them rests with the Government that was responsible for acts like the dropping of the arrest of Mr.Gandhi, we can draw the inference that thereis a difference of opinion between the two and it is necessary, at the present political juncture, to find out the reason why such difference, if any, has arisen. The latter portion of Mr.Montagu's speach, wherein he is reported to have stated that it was not right for the Parliament to take any steps transgressing the aims announced by the British Government in 1917 deserves calm consideration in connexion with this question. Considering all the aforesaid facts together, Mr.Montagu's idea seems to be that the duty of Indians consists only in following his Reforms Act. But, as a matter of fact, Indians are not prepared to march step by step and foot by foot as stated therein. They urge their fitness for self-government and agitate for the immediate attainment and enjoyment of their legitimate rights. The consequence is that, being enraged at their conduct, he not only supports the acts of repression but is also unwilling to redress the grievances of the Indians. Now, regarding the position and attitude of Lord Reading, it should be admitted that, though he consents to resort to repression, he is not willing to go to such lengths as Mr.Montagu wishes ~~to~~ to. From the Government of India having issued orders to stop the arrest of Mr.Gamdhi as soon as the working

Committee of the Congress suspended civil disobedience, it can be inferred that they are not willing to create an unnecessary excitement in the country. His statement during the interview that he granted to Pandit Malaviya and others in December last, that he and the Pandit thought that a conference should be convened for concerting measures to solve the questions of the day that agitated the public mind, is worthy of note in this connexion. Thus, Lord Reading is willing to solve the well-known question of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and swaraj and Mr.Montagu who wants Indians to advance step by step according to his Reforms Act is not so willing. The conflict of opinion between the two gentlemen may, therefore, have arisen on this account also. Now, as the Secretary of State has declared that the men on the spot alone should bear the responsibility, he should also admit that the responsibility of making suggestions for the solution of the questions that lie at the root of the unrest rests only with the Government of India. On the 21st December, Lord Reading stated in Calcutta that, if the non-co-operators stopped their activities, the Government of India would suspend their repressive measures and call for a conference to consider about the solution of those questions. And, as the Working Committee of the Congress has stopped the activities of the non;co-operation programme, both the public and the Congress Committee are only expecting that Lord Reading will in his turn, do as he promised. But it can very soon be known whether the Secretary of St te has, in the exercise of his powers, nullified ~~xxxx~~ or proposes to ~~x~~ nullify the duty devolving upon the Viceroy to desist from repressive policy in future, to release the people in prison as a result thereof and to convene a conference for advising the Government in regard to the removal of the causes of the present unrest. Though the London Times characterises the suspension of the non-co-operation movement

as a sham, the Viceroy knows that Mr.Gandhi can be fully Relied on. Hence, we expect his future decision with great anxiety.

Demurring to the resolution moved recently in the House of Commons by Mr.Joynson Hicks condemning the administration of Mr.Montagu for the last three years as being the cause of the present situation in India, the Dravidan of the 18th February, says:-- It is well known that Mr.Montagu is very much interested in India's political progress and, as such, we are bound to sympathise with him. We cannot but condemn the words of a few Englishmen who, being six thousands miles off, have not rightly understood the cause of the present situation and who evince no sympathy for India. Mr.Montagu has rightly pointed out in his speech that it is impossible for one in London to preserve order in India.

Nes.

24. Mr.Gandhi and Mr. Malaviya.

Remarking that the world is watching how vigorously Mr.Malaviya has been working to crush the non-co-operation movement, ever since it was started by Mr. Gandhi, and tracing how he has ranged himself against the movement at every stage, the Navasakti, of the 17th February, writes:--Just as Mr.Gokhale is said to have sided the bureaucracy twelve years ago to put down the nationalist movement led by Mr.Tilak, it will now be given out that Mr.Malaviya is siding the bureaucracy at present. There are many grounds for inferring that the Working Committee of the Congress gave way owing to the influence of Mr.Malaviya. Had the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai been present at the meeting of this committee at Bardoli, Mr.Malaviya's influence would not have prevailed.

The action of the Working Committee in having passed very demeaning resolutions at a time when patriots and saints, the rich and the poor are suffering in jail having sacrificed all their comforts and felt their wives and children, will be ever wounding the minds of real patriots, though it may gladden the heart of Mr.Malaviya, and men of his ilk. We would warn our patriots that the country will be ruined if it trusts Mr.Malaviya.

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R.A. 25. Stray xxx The Navasakti, of the 17th February, publishes the following stray comments on a variety of subjects: There is no doubt that many will feel jubilant over the introduction of a Bill at a recent session of the Legislative Assembly to repeal the Rowlatt Act. But the nationalists will neither enjoy nor regret this. We note, in this connexion that the time is long past when we were discussing all laws in the Statute Book. xItxisxappearing It appears the statement of Sir William Vincent, while introducing the Bill, that he it was that introduced the Act originally and that he it is again that is introducing a Bill to have it repealed, evoked laughter among the members. There is no need at all for any laughter; we have only to pity Sir William for this.

Stray comments.

It appears that Mr.Montagu recently observed in the House of Commons that, if the very foundation of the British Empire is attacked, if the Government are prevented from discharging their duties properly and if the object of the present agitation is to oust the British from India, it is pxxx impossible for the Indians to succeed against the British, who are the most resolute race in the whole world. How

beautifully has Mr.Montagu understood the significance of the present movement in India? We cannot help expressing our gratitude to him, at least for his reference to poverty and other evils existing in India.

N.C.S. 26. Discussing in a lengthy leader whether the non-co-operation movement is now progressing or declining, the Navasakti, of the 17th February, concludes that it is progressing inwardly, though it looks to be waning for all outward appearances, and observes:--We very much regret that the Working Committee should have got dispirited at a time when the capacity of the non-co-operation movement to progress even outwardly was about to be confirmed. It is, perhaps, an act of repression on the part of the Working Committee to have suppressed the soul fource of Bardoli on the ground of the brute force exhibited at Gorakpur! The resolution of the Working Committee can be said to have annihilated the zeal, the enthusiasm, and the spirit of the country. The foolish and detestable act of Gorakpur is opposed to Indian principles and was not committed by those who sincerely wish for the success of the non-co-operation movement. It should have been perpetrated by mean persons bent upon ruining India by getting rid of the non co-operation movement and these are therefore our enemies. On every occasion when a war with soul force is commenced, our enemies will rouse brute force in some corner or other and it is not wise to relax our endeavours for fear of them. We warn the Congress Committee even now that the repetition of their present action will only strengthen co-operation in the country.

The Congress and the non-co-operation movement.

Adverting to the same topic the Tamil Nadu, of the 19th February, writes:-- It is indeed a mistake to suppose from

the occurrences at Gorakpur that violence is predominant in the minds of all the people of India. Hence, we hope that the All-India Congress Committee will, in their meeting, set aside the resolution of the Working Committee and pass a resolution giving the Provincial Committees the right of adopting civil disobedience.

M.R. 27. Adverting to the resolution brought recently by Sir Joynson Hicks in the House of Commons attacking Mr.Montagu, the Tamil Nadu, of the 19th February,

India in Parliament.

remarks that some British gentlemen imagine that liberty has been granted to the Indians by Mr.Montagu, who is blindly sanctioning all the cruelties wrought by the British bureaucracy which, by its resort to cruel repressive measures the like of which have never been handled by any civilized Government, destroyes the birthrights of the public and is imprisoning excellent patriots by hundreds, and expresses its surprise at the moderates believing sincerely that the British race which has such a perverse mentality is going to grant complete swaraj to India, within the British Empire.

N.C.S. 28. Perhaps, the Government too think that the situation in the country is fraught with great anxiety. Else, they would not resort to repressive measures in such haste and crowd the jails like the third-class carriages on certain festive occasions. Now, none need tell us that our Empire is being crushed by the weight of the pecuniary stringency caused thereto during the German war and that stringency is not absent from the Government of India, which is its offspring. But, in these circumstances, no Government would

venture to arrest hundreds of persons every day and thus undertake the cost of maintaining them. Hence, the sole reason for their adopting repressive measures is their fear and anxiety on account of our attitude. But, this is the opinion of Mr.Gandhi and not mine. Our leader then starts the question 'But what is to be done to alter and pacify this situation which is thus terrible and anxious?' And his own reply to that question brims with humour. He says that this fear will not leave the Government so long as we remain as men and women, and solves the question by saying that if we become (alis) eunuchs, our Government will entertain no fear towards us; As we cannot become eunuchs according to our wish, it follows that the Government should, of necessity remain in fear. But, in my opinion, even if we become eunuchs and impotent people, fear will not leave the Government, for eunuchs too can wage the passive war. Again if all turn (alis) eunuchs, the fear of the Government will only grow, for, while they are afraid of one Muhammad Ali and one Shaukat Ali, comment is needless if all the 31½ crores of people become alis.

N.C.S. 30. Remarking that Indians cannot forget soon the antics of Lord Curzon during his viceroyalty here, which have been the root-cause of the spirit of nationalizm that has now taken possession of the minds of the people, the Tamil Nadu, of the 19th February, writes:--Even now, he is conducting himself, as far as possible, in such a manner as to advance the cause of non-co-operation. It is certain that, as long as such gentlemen exist in England, countries like Egypt and India which are regarded as the slaves of the British Empire will, like the United States of America, be freed from the domination thereof.

Lord Curzon. X

M.R. 32. The Andhrapatrika, of the 14th February, writes in its leader:--Speaking about the Indian Reforms, Mr.Montagu has stated that as the reforms form the first stage, it should be seen how India progresses under them, and that the Indians must then pass over to another stage. But the reforms need not be tested at some future time. Their nature has become evident even now. Funds are not forthcoming in the Provinces. Even the moderates state that the Dual Government has been a failure and that it has not paved the way for self-government. Even they feel the necessity of the attainment of immediate swaraj. They are at a loss to know what to do. Even the members of the Indian Assembly have expressed their wish that, the reforms should be revised. It has now become evident that the Legislative Councils are useless and that the powers vested in them are a mirage. The Councils cannot even prevent the violation of the people's birthrights. The fact that Mr.Montagu does not view the policy pursued by the Government of India as repression, shows that there is not much difference between Lord Reading and himself. Under such circumstances, the communication through the Government of an expression of complete confidence in the administration of Mr.Montagu by way of protest against Sir Joyson Hicks, does not betoken the far-sightedness of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Mr.Montagu and the Indian affairs.

Genl. & 33. In commenting upon the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the resolution anent the Indianisation of public services, the Andhrapatrika, of the 14th February, says under this heading:--In opposing the resolution, Sir William Vincent spoke highly of the

Reforms and high posts.

European Civilians. He stated that they have established law, order, and justice. He asks how India was, before it had the benefit of the British rule. It is not difficult to give an answer to this usual question. But the Assembly did not give him a suitable reply. The present members of the Assembly are not representatives of the people. If Sir William Vincent put the question to the people, they could have answered him suitably. If the European officers find it hard to work in this country, the people will manage their affairs without them.

N.C.S. 34. The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, writes under this heading:--It is not out of fear of repression that the Mahatma has altered his former programme or out of despondency. The Chief reason for the change is his interest in righteousness. It will be well on the part of the authorities to recognize this at this juncture and do justice.

The Bardoli resolution.

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Apropos of the news that Mr.Gandhi has put a stop to the campaign of civil disobedience at Bardoli, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 21st February, in a leading article under this headline observes:--A majority of the Indians have not yet become fit to acquire freedom and swaraj. Until and unless all the Indians become inspired with a craving for swaraj and liberty, any attempts therefor will not bear fruit. Mr.Gandhi is quite right in coming to the conclusion that it is wrong to do acts which ought not to be done and expose millions of people to danger.

The Bardoli resolution.

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The Nyaya Dipika, of the 14th February, prays that in view of the decision come to by the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli, the authorities may suspend their policy of repression and release the political offenders, forgiving and forgetting their wrongs.

The Bardoli decision.

P.P. 36. Under this heading a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, writes:--

Experience in jail.

The jail authorities consider the prisoners for the reason that he did not behave well while eating or walking and said to him, "When you are released and go home and have intercourse with your wife, your loins will give you pain. Then you will hold your loins with your hands. Your wife will ask you what is the matter? What will you then say?' Listen. Tell her that this is the blow given by warder Malamayala Fakir in block No.8 of the Central Jail, Rajahmundry." Did you see the audacity of this warder? There are only a few such fools. If a complaint is made to any Jailor, he will not heed; but on the other hand he willabuse the prisoners themselves.

Prisoners worse than brutes; listen to a small story. A warder belaboured a prisoner

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N.C.S. 38. The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th February, writes under this heading:--From the discussion that took plce in the House of Commons on the Indian situation and the comments thereon of English papers, it is plain that the heart of the British has not changed--Statesmen like Mr.Lloyd George and Mr.Montagu regard brute-force as the only means to remove unrest and do not think deeply about the conditions in India. It is plain that they still place faith in a policy that has proved

India and the British angle of vision.

a failure as will be seen from the history of the world. Is there an example in the world of the people's desire for freedom having been blighted by the arrest of leaders or by enforcing repressive laws? If there is none, why should that fact be ignored in India? If Mr.Gandhi is arrested his movement will assert itself with redoubled force. It does not redound to the credit either of Mr.Montagu or his party to have stated that the British Government will not leave India and that if they are opposed they will do their utmost to put down such opposition. It is to be regretted that, instead of granting the wishes of the people, he should use such harsh words about them. That the British Ministers who sometime ago preached very often the doctrine of self-determination should express such narrow views betrays their narrow-mindedness. There is not the slightest hope that under the present circumstances, the British Parliament will behave more generously. From this, it is plain that Indians should depend upon themselves necessarily.

Cong. 40. The Kistnapatrika, of the 11th February, writes under this heading:--Pandit Malaviya's endeavours towards compromise have failed and this is no surprise to those who are acquainted with the traditions of the bureaucracy. So long as their faith in repression does not vanish, they will not give up their policy. The notion that the people exist for the Government and the Government for the people is ingrained in them. The subjects have only to pray humbly but should not dictate to the bureaucracy. So long as the authorities suppose that the relation between the rulers and the ruled is the same as between master and servant, they cannot act otherwise. The Congress has till now been following medicant

Malaviya's endeavours to-wards compromise.

policy, but all on a sudden, it gave up this policy and is behaving like an equal. How could the rulers endure this?....... The authorities should either repent the wrongs they have done and recognise popular force or suppress this agitation by taking to repression. Will the authorities whox have been ruling with prowers and valour repent? Such a thing is unusual and is opposed to all traditions of Government.

S.R. 43. Referring to certain statements made by Lord Northcliffe in his interview, with the representative of the Associated press on the eve of his return to England, the Venkatesapatrika, of the 4th February, says:--Lord Northcliffe made the above statements with the object of destroying the union between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Let us see whether the Hindu.-Muhammadan unity is stable or not. In former times the Moghul rulers were duped by the words of the British. Even in the matter of procuring high appointments, they could not get their wishes satisfied. They were deceived a third time by Mr.Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, and they reduced Turkey to her present wretched plight. The people in the world may be deceived three times but not for ever. We can emphatically assert that the Muhammadans, who have realised that the Muhammadan world canot enjoy peace without India attaining political salvation and who are carrying on the non-violent swaraj movement along with Mahatma Gandhi, will not yield to the machinations of Lord Northcliffe. We pray that the Hindus and the Muhammadans will not be deceived by the words of such Englishmen as Lord Northcliffee.

The Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

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S.R. 45. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th February, writes under this heading:--The suspension of mass civil disobedience need not be a source of sorrow either to the people of Bardoli or those of the Guntur district or the rest of the Indians. Whatever the bureaucracy may or ma y not do, the people should do their duty and attain swaraj. We hope that they will immediately set about completing the Bardoli programme and thus manifest their yearning for swaraj.

The duty of the people.

N.C.S. 47. Commenting on the correspondence that tool place between Mr.Gandhi and His Excellency the Viceroy, the Hitakarini, of the 13th February, contains remarks to the following effect:--

The Government and the people.

The authorities have thrown all the great leaders into the prison under some pretext. Under such circumstances can there be any obstacle to the people taking to Satyagraha? How can it be a wrong on the part of the people to adopt that policy? Can the horrible acts perpetrated by the authorities in many places in the name of law and order, be ever forgotten. The people can never regard the repressive measures of the Government as lawful. The Government state that their methods will vary according to the conduct of the people; but they do not understand in the least that the conduct of the people will be changing with the methods of the Government.

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S.R. 51. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 21st February, in a communicated English article under this head-line, observes:--

Swaraj.

The Bardoli decision is an unmistakable index of the fall of the Mahatma. This goes to show that the Mahatma may change, that Malaviya may have the honour of having changed him, that the invertebrates of India, Hindus or Muhammadans, may flatter themselves that the rising tide of patriotism, threatening, and bloodshed is stemmed, that emasculated and effeminate India may dance to their tune, that in the midst of all this there is Young India burning wit disappointed indignation at the shape that the fight for swaraj has taken. This feeling of disappointment is bound to keep the fire of the fight for swaraj kindling with redoubled heat. It may for a time remain extinct as the forces of suppressed volcano. It can never remain under control for a very long time. There must be an outburst, sooner orlater. It is likely that the outburst will come much sooner than later, unless God blesses the responsible authorities in England and India with a spirit of political tranquillity in which they can take a cool and dispassionate view of the consequences of the burning indignation that fires Young India. A careful and reflecting surver of the history of revolutions cannot but convince the authorites responsible for the maintenance of peace, law and order that in the bosom of India the forces of indignation are terribly at work and that unless proper steps are taken to reduce the temperature, the impending outburst of discontent and dissatisfaction would end in sending out a burning lava which would carry both India and England before it and make short work of the Empire on which the Sun never sets........The philosophy of resignation which made India an asylum for fakirs, sanyasins and other mendicants, both

dignified and undignified, is the cause of the general slavish mentality under which India is groaning. Let any man take a dispassionate view of the incessant work of the Indian bees struggling for their very existence and the life of luxury and extravagance led by their Anglo-Indian Lords. And he will see the terrible penalty that the victims of this philosophy have been paying. They have been lugging the chains to make their Lords and Masters to suck their very life blood. Even a superficial survey of the present Indian situation will give a correct view of the un-British administration obtaining in India. To say that it is un-British has become a crime and misdemeanour deserving punishment of the highest order. It is to end this state of things that the noble British people extended the blessings of British education to India......Young India has resolved to show its loyalty to the liberal constitutional education it received from England. It thought that Mahatma Gandhi was best qualified to be the standard-bearer of New India. The Mahatma has shown a regrettable weakness. Young India is of opinion that any one fired by a spirit of martyrdom would serve the purpose. The Young Indians are thinking of marshalling their spiritual forces and fight with a resolution to win swaraj in the Empire or die in the attempt. One Gandhi is, in their estimation, morally dead. They themselves wish to take his place.

Cong. 52. Adverting to a widespread rumour regarding the impending imprisonment of Mr.Gandhi, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 20th February, observes:--The Government of India as well as the British Government will not derive any benefit by imprisoning Mr.Gandhi. It is Mr.Gandhi who holds under restraint the rash element among the people of this country, and if he be imprisoned, this rash element will begin to commit all sorts of disorders. This will result in the proclamation of Martial Law and in the sue of machine guns and bombs. The hatred betwen the Indians and the British will increase and ill-feeling will be created between India and the British Empire. It appears to us that the British Government will not resort to a step such as this.

Imprisonment of Mr.Gandhi.

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N.C.S. 53. Rejoicing over the news that Mr.Gamdhi has put a stop to his campaign of civil disobedience the Mysore Star, of the 19th February, remarks:--They can be nothing more disgraceful than that those very people who started the non-co-operation movement with a view to redress the Punjab murders should make ro m for a series of similar horrible murders in this country as a result of their movement. Had Mr.Gandhi's followers attempted to start civil disobedience on the 11th instant, Government would have felt compelled to have recourse to various measures to put a stop to that campaign. Fortunately for us this calamity has been averted and for the time being at any rate, the struggle which was on the point of being started by Mr.Gandhi has come to an end by itself.

Civil disobedience.

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Genl. 54. Prefacing a note wit the remark that some of the journals of England are not justified in advising Government to incarcerate Mr.Gandhi inasmuch as the latter has with the use of his soul force been trying to quell violence in this country, the Swadesabhimani, of the 17th February, writes:--Some may question us how it is that disorders have taken place in Bombay, Madras and elsewhere. The proper answer to this question is that these disorders are not the result of the movement of Mr. Gandhi but are the direct outcome of the repressive policy of the authorities. Had it not been for the non-violent non-co-operation of Mr.Gandhi, many more disorders would have taken place in the country. This sacred movement has averted such a calamity.........It is to be regretted that even Mr.Montagu has begun to give expression to undesirable views. In one of his recent speeches he says that it is not possible to give any further instalment of reforms than what has already been granted to India until and unless the Indians make a right use of the present reforms and show their fitness for further reforms. According to him the Indians are but school-boys! Looking to the reply of Mr. Montagu to a question put to him as to why Mr.Gandhi has not been arrested, we are constrained to conclude that the authorities themselves have given the go by to their creed of non-violence.'

The non;co-operation x movement.

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Cong. 55. In an English article the Mitavadi, of the 13th February, says among other things

The political situation. as follows:--........The danger x before the country, therefore, is real and colossal, but can it not be averted?........The first step lies in removing Gandhi from the path he has been permitted so long to roam about impregnating the political atmosphere with his poisonous gasconades, and it is time he is restrained. His arrest and detention might give rise to outbreaks of lawlessness in certain limited circles but that must not deter those in authority from saving the entirecountry from bloodshed and ruin.

Genl. 61. The writer next refers to the imprisonment of Muhammad ~~Ali and Shaukat Ali~~ Ali and Shaukat Ali which instead of decreasing the unrest has increased it and observes that egen if Mahatmaji makes an agreement with the Government on conditions which may be beneficial to the Government and injurious to the State, the country will never accept it. The country's desire is not leader worship but to secure a just settlement of the question of freedom and the Khilafat. If Mahatmaji were imprisoned we can say with certainly that the country will at the same time declare her independence. We invite the Government to imprison Mahatmaji and see what the state of the country will be.

For the week ending 4th March, 1922.

NO. 9 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

R.A. 1. Referring to the working of Martial Law in Malabar, the West Coast Reformer, of the 24th February, writes:--The regime of Martial Law is drawing to a close.

Martial Law in Malabar.

Many have expressed diverse opinions as to the working of Martial Law in Malabar. Persons like Mrs, Sarojini Nayudu have found in it the source of many troubles and have not been slow to condemn the introduction of this extraordinary measure. It is indubitable that Malabar found herself unable to cope with the dangerous situation created in August last by the Mappillas in open revolt without the suspension of civil administration. The nature and extent of the rising as revealed by the events during the last six monthsxxx can leave no doubt as to their extreme necessity for placing the country under Martial Law. Whatever might have been the regrettable mistakes in the Punjab under Martial Law there can be no doubt that Malabar has been fortunate in getting a well seasoned form of the Martial Law which leads little room for adverse criticism. The suffering and misery which are the necessary concomitants of a state of rebellion have unfortunately appeared in Malabar as well. The authorities have, as far as it lay in their power, taken proper precautions to avert the inevitable feeling of dissatisfaction at the change. Attempts have been made by interested extremists to give a sombre colouring to the administration by publishing even out of India incongruous pictures calculated

to prejudice centiment and opinion against the inauguration of Martial Law.......Safe for the unfortunate death-van tragedy we do not think that the administration of Martial Law in Malabar can in any sense be said to have been guilty of neglect or excess. The punctilious care with which justice has been meted out t the blacket criminals guilty of the worst wrongs through the medium of the Special Tribunal has been the most palliating feature of the necessary rigons of Martial Law. Even the worst enemy of British justice--the confirmed non-co-operator--can have nothing to urge against this tribunal that has done its duty with the most scrupulous regard for the commendable principles of British justice. We cannot but regret the injurious propaganda set afloat by persons who want to throw dust upon the administration in season and out of it. Malabar has accorded its unstinted appreciation of the excellent way in which the authorities responsible for the administration of Martial Law have discharged their functions."

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Cong. 2. Swarajya, of the 27th February, has the following:--

The All-India Congress committee.

"We are gratified to learn that the All-India Congress Committee has, at its meeting in Delhi, confirmed the Bardoli resolutions. It has incorporated into them two important modifications. Individual civil disobedience may be commenced in restricted areas with the previous consent of the Provincial Committees provided the stringent conditions laid down by the Congress are strictly fulfilled.' Picketing of foreign cloth is also permitted in places where men of approved character are available for the purpose. In these two respects, the resolution is much in advance of the programme decided on at Bardoli.........One has to admit that the Bardoli decision

was a rude shock to national workers all over the country. The campaign of ruthless repression on the part of the Govern ent generated an amount of healthy enthusiasm in the people which months of propaganda could not have accomplished. Thousands were marching into prison with full faith that by that they were hastening the day of their country's deliverance. When national work was speeding up so fast, the Gorakhpur tragedy gave a new turn to events. Commenting on the Bardoli decision, we po nted out that it would be suicidal to lose sight of non-violence as the basis of our movement....... We heartily commend the All-India Congress Committee for the ready acceptance of the lead given by the Working Committee. It has stood true to the great ideals of the movement, for it has, with true vision, seen that it would be fatal to sacrifice the creed of non-violence for an imagined political expediency. At a moment when heroism and wisdom was needed, it has shown it. The next few months will disclose the wisdom of the Bardoli decision."

Referring to the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Delhi, New India, of the 27th February, writes:--

"Casting the die.

Mr.Gandhi has once more proved his dictatorship by bending the weak wills of the so-called 'leaders' to his strong will, and, as though to show his contempt for them, he has executed another volte-face by already forgotten Chauri Chaura, under the Shock of which he passed the Bardoli-resolutions suspending mass civil disobedience. The Committee has obediently confirmed those resolutions. The modifications restore the status quoante-Bardoli...... We hear nothing of the Khilafatists, but they have really carried the day, for civil disobedience is permitted to them, and they can ensure that it leads to violence, which

they consider necessary.

The Congress Committee has cast the fatal die, and we must prepare for the struggle.......If the only Government in the country is destroyed, all India will become a Malabar, and it is the great Hindu population that will be the sufferers."

N.C.S. 3. Justice, of the 28th February, observes:--"If any simpleton in India nursed the fond belief that Mr.Gamdhi was truly repentant when he called a truce to the aggressive side of his pet scheme of non-co-operation, he will now find that he has all along been hugging a grievous mistake. Mr.Gandhi is every inch a revolutionary of the most virulent type, has been so from the time he seriously took to politics and public affairs. A careful analysis of his activities from the time of his South African campaign to date, will reveal that at the back of everyone of them, the revolutionary idea was the true incentive. No doubt he had the happy knack of taking the true measure of what might be attempted at each time with perfect safety to his own person and of concealing his real motives and intentions under cover of a very deceptive phraseology. The art of dissimulation, in which Mr.Gandhi is an adept, has all along helped him to hide his real motives, and to win for him the applause and sympathy of many people. The possession of this doubtful virtue by him accounts for much of his success and for attributing to him sincerity of conviction even by those who differed from him and his politics. His lament over the Chauri Chaura tragedy was purely an act of simulation to disguise which he called off mass civil disobedience in Bardoli which had been decided upon. His feigned repentance was, as usual, of short duration. It was

Mr.Gandhi's revolutionary Policy.

probably a test deliberately applied to discover the depth of the conviction he had succeeded in engrafting on his followers, and now that he is satisfied that among them there were only a few waverers but many staunch adherents ready to proceed at a quicker pace and with greater violence than seemed to him expedient, Mr.Gandhi has agreed to the practical reversal of his decision to suspend aggressive non-co-operation."

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Genl. 4. The following appears in the Hindu, of the 1st March:-

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"The boycott of the Prince's visit by the Sikhs must serve as an eye opener to the British public as regards the seriousness of the Indian situation in that it shows how even the most loyalist section of the people has been driven to adopt such a sullen attitude towards a member of the British Royal family. The Sikhs, of all the communities in India, have often been singled out and praised by Englishmen in the past for their loyalty and devotion to the Government and the British throne in particular. Hence it is not a little disappointing to them to see the community as a whole refusing to offer the expected welcome to the Royal visitor."

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N.C.S. 6. Justice of the 3rd March, has the following:--"To-day

Non-co-operators and the Police.

we publish particulars of an affray in Guntur perpetrated by a local mob headed by a K.D.Almost every day we have news of lawlessness from some centre or other. There is, therefore, no longer any room to doubt but that the forces of disorder have been let loose in this unfortunate land. No one will dispute, neither will the non-co-operators deny it, that it is their handiwork.

Barring a few, who are perhaps not morally responsible because they are under the hypnotic influence of those mesmerists Messrs.Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, Lajput Rai and Nehru, the rest of the non-co-operators who are out to break the law and commit crimes are known depredators, hooligans and fallen women. These are the associates, friends and instruments of the revolutionaries who are not ashamed of their company. The only obstacle that has thwarted their design to overthrow the British Government and to wreck ordered society has been the Military and the Police, both of which they have already made attempts to seduce. As pointed out by the Home Member in introducing the Government Bill to provide penalty for spreading disaffection among the Police, the first line of defence is the Police. Their seduction would place security of the country in jeopardy. The non-co-operators know it and have since some time been doing their level best to tamper with the loyalty of this limb of the law, not altogether without success in some isolated cases, but on the whole their efforts up to now have been, thank Heaven, not very fruitful......The maintenance intact of the police force is a vital necessity at all times, much more so at this critical period in our history. We are glad that the Bill has been referred to a Select Committee the members of which, we trust, would not be too squamish and render the measure practically innocuous when it emerges from its hands."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col. 7. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st February, writes:--

The position of Indians in Kenya.

There seems to be a difference of opinion even among the British Ministers about the Kenya question. Mr.Churchill is inclined to deny the rights of the Indians. The action of Mr.Churchill, one of the members of the Imperial Conference which decided in favour of the rights of the Indians, in trying to decieve the Indians by means of his own interpretation reflects upon the very integrity of the British. According to our moderate friends, it is on the words of such statesmen that we should rely for the attainment of swaraj.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(j) Salt and Abkari.

Pro. 15. In its leader under this heading, the Deenabhandu, of the 15th February, observes:--

Will this blot disappear?

India which, at one time, was the guiding angel of all countries and was like the Kamadhenu (the all-giving cow) has now become a servile country with ever so many blemishes on her, and has lost her former name and reputation. Of the several ailments India is subject to the drink evil is one. This is the outcome of contact with the west. The Government should enact a law against the drink evil, without caring for the abkari revenue. So long as they fail to do it, the evil will not be blotted out.........The Abkari department is in the hands of the representatives of the people and when

even then, they do not care to recognise the need for reform in the moral life of their fellow countrymen they do not deserve the gratitude of the ruled. If they will not do it, we venture to say that the people themselves will, somexxxhow or other, rid themselves of this misery, even at the risk of suffering hardships. We desire that both the labourers and the depressed classes should work to get rid of this evil prevailing among them, by using the weapon of boycott against drunkards.

(K) General.

Cong. 16. Referring to this subject the Saiphul-Islam, of the 12th February, observes:--

Muhammadans and Khaddar dress.

As the Mussalmans have associated themselves with this dress only in view of the welfare of India and for exhibiting their disgust with the enemies of their faith, they will not at all swerve from their path until their object is realized.

Genel. 18. Adverting to the programme of work that has been chalked out by the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli for the purpose of being followed by the Indians until India attains full power to take to non-ciolent national work, the Vinodini, of the 15th February, observes:--

The Congress and the non-co-operation movement. x

In view of the fact that our national movement has, at present, adopted such measures, the only dignified act that can be done by the Government now is to allay the rage of the people by the immediate cessation of repression, the cancellation of repressive laws and the release of all Political prisoners.

the political prisoners. But if, on the other hand, the Government do not realize this fact, but cherish the foolish idea that they can do away with the national movement in several ways when the vigour thereof has gone down, let them clearly understand that anarchy and commotion will immediately result therefrom and spread throughout the land.

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R.A. 21. Referring to the communique issued by the Local Government regqrding the remarks of Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu during a recent lecutre on the Madras beach,

Martial Law in Malabar.

particularly those relating to two incidents which occurred in Malabar in the course of the administration of Martial Law and pointing to the truth of these two incidents having now been vouched for by the Secretary to the Kerala Congress Committee and to the reply of Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu to the above communique, in which she says that news of the above incidents had reached the Government already through an impartial person, the Swadesamitran, of the 21st February, observes:--Under these circumstances, it is surprising that the Government should have issued a communique as if they were ignorant of anything. Even supposing that they were unaware of these things till now, they are bound to institute prompt inquiries into this matter, now that the particulars have come to light, and mete out suitable punishment to the culprits. It remains to be seen whether they will do so.

~~R.T.C.~~ Genl. 22. Adverting to the visit of His Excellency Lord Willingdon to Delhi, the Dravidan, of the 22nd February, remarks that this visit is likely to be productive of good in two respects, and observes:--

Lord Willingdon's visit to Delhi.

The Madras Mail says that Lord Willingdon has taken great interest in the proper working out of the new reforms and that he is striving to secure provincial autonomy. If this endeavour is crowned with success, all the people of this Presidency are in duty bound to be grateful to him. Again, it is gratifying to note that the deputation to meet the Viceroy for urging the reduction of the amount of contribution made by the Local Government to the Government of India will leave for Delhi-to-day. We hope that the gentlemen forming that deputation will realize their responsibility clea ly, and without being allured by the smiles of the Viceroy, discharge their duty aright. Lord Willingdon's vist visit to Delhi at this juncture is, in our opinion, the dawn of the realization of our hope in regard to our demand in this respect.

R.T.C. Referring to the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 22nd February, observes:--As it is not the practice for Provincial Governors to leave their provinces except in special circumstances, Lord Willingdon should have gone to Delhi at the invitation of Lord Reading for some important reason. At the present juncture, it appears that he should have been so invited for two or three reasons, the chief of which seems to be to consider whether Mr.Gamdhi need hereafter be arrested or not according to the present policy of the Government, who have, aft r the resolution of Bardoli to suspend the movement of civil disobedience, postponed giving effect to their decision to arrest him. Again, it is the

Viceroy's main duty to decide whether the repressive policy of the Government should be suspended or not in case the activities of the non-co-operation movement have been absolutely stopped, as he promised in Calcutta on the 21st December last that, if the non-co-operators suspended their activities, he would call for a Round-table Conference, putting an end to the repressive policy of the Government, releasing the people imprisoned and cancelling the notifications issued in pursuance of that policy. And the Viceroy is bound to redeem his pledge if the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi confirms the resolutions of the Working Committee at Bardoli. Now, it seems very natural that Lord Willingdon may have been invited to Delhi to consider as to how this matter should be disposed of. If the Government decide to release the people imprisoned in the several provinces and to cancel the notifications and orders passed under the repressive Acts, it may be thought to be excellent statesmanship announce that decision with all pomp before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales leaves the shores of India, and to notify that, even though certain persons attempted to boycott him, the Prince, in the exuberance of his clemency, wished to pardon their faults committed in ignorance and that the Government of India have issued this order in deference to that wish. Again, the Viceroy is bound to fulfil his word uttered on the 21st December and thereafter, that he was willing to convene a Round-table Conference to consider the removal of the causes of the grievances of the Indians. But his position is very intricate in the matter of convening a Round-table Conference, as such a step would mean that he admits that Indians have grievances in respect of the reforms and that the conference is convened to seek ways and means to redress those grievances if possible, while Mr. Montagu has recently stated in Parliament

that all the grievances of the Indians have been removed by him by means of the Reforms Act and that the results thereof should be weighed only after patient waiting for a sufficiently long time. Hence, it may be that Lord Reading has invited the Governor of Madras so as to confer with the heads of the Provincial Governments and thus fortify his own position. But, this does not appear to be so likely. Or, again, it may perhaps be that the invitation has been sent for considering and concerting measures in respect of the financial stringency that has arisen throughout the country. For, in the preliminary budget framed by each ~~throughout~~ Provincial Government for the coming official year, and in that of the Government of India, the estimated expenditure exceeds the estimated income and there are no means of increasing the income in the present struggling condition of the people. The expenditure has of course to be curtailed. While all the Governments are reducing their expenditure, it is but just to curtail the amount that is now being spent enormously in the shape of salaries and, in that case, influential services such as the Indian Civil Service may be affected. Even while nothing is being done to affect these and all manner of privileges are, on the contrary, being extended to them, a loud cry is raised that the Government of India are according to them only a step-motherly treatment. And it may be that Lord Willingdon has been invited to consider as to how to meet these intricate conditions.

Cong. 27. Referring to the fact of many having gone to the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi prepared to get the Bardoli resolution altered and securing permission for mass civil disobedience and a few again with the object of advocating the complete dropping of the non-co-operation movement, the Swadesamitran, of the 27th February, observes:--

The present ~~xxxx~~ situation.

Coming to the resolution passed, after calm deliberation, at Delhi, is there ground for Mr.Montagu and Sir William Vincent to characterise as unlawful the work done in pursuance of the mandate of the Congress? It is manifest that the transgression of a particular order, law or notification by a particular individual or a body of individuals assembled in a place on considerations of conscience or birthright cannot amount to an unlawful act. It may so happen that a particular body of Indians have to transgress a particular law or order on conscientious grounds and neither the Congress nor the Government can be deemed to be entitled to prevent them from doing so. For example, a magistrate may prohibit picketing work in front of shops selling foreign cloths and toddy while a particular individual or a body of individuals may deem such work to be proper. If then, the latter transgress the aforesaid order it cannot generally amount to a transgression of the law. Therefore, there is not the slightest justification to cause the Congress of having resorted to illegal activities, in the light of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. The fact of the people again resorting to civil disobedience depends upon the government. If they take the people into their confidence and come to a settlement, there will be no room for civil disobedience. The Congress Committee has stopped all illegal activities, and it can be definitely asserted that the Congress will not resume them unless it is forced to do so by the Government. It should also be stated that the Congress Committee has fulfilled all the stipulations

proposed by the Viceroy at Calcutta in view to a compromise. The question is whether the Government will, as agreed to by them, repeal the orders, etc, passed under the repressive lasws and release those imprisoned.

R.A. 28. Characterising as curious the communique issued by the Government of Madras in respect of the cruelties described by Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu in her lecture in Madras as having been perpetrated by some Gurkhas on a young woman and a child under the administration of Martial Law, the Tamil Nadu, of the 26th February, remarks:--No Government having the welfare of its subjects at heart would have issued such a perverse communique, for, if popular leaders possessing the responsibility, influence, and status of Mrs.Nayudu said that such ghastly incidents occurred in a certain place, it is the practice of civilized Governments to institute inquiries about them and punish the perpetrators of those brutal acts. But, everything is topsy-turvy in this country and the authorities threaten to punish the leaders who give publicity to the hardships of the subjects. If the authorities desire to imprison Mrs.Nayudu, the thing can be easily accomplished with the aid of section 109 and other sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, and they need not take this circuitous course at all.

Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu.

Referring to certain allegations made against the authorities in Malabar by Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu and stating that evidence of Mr.Menon and Mrs.Besant confirms them, the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th February, remarks:-- If the allegations are true, it will create a wrong impression in the minds of the people that the Government are unnecessarily annoying the

Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu's statement.

people. They will therefore do well to avert the formation of any such impression by giving a satisfactory explanation. It is undesirable that they should rely upon the writings of the Mail. We congratulate Mrs. Nayudu on her daring.

Genl. 30. Special honour attaches to the Presidency of Madras; for it is only this Presidency that gave room for the Europeans, in the beginning, to sow the seeds of slavery. Again, it is this Presidency that pays a higher contribution to the Central Government and, yet again, in no other province did an incident like the death of 63 persons from asphyxia in train occur during the course of this year. More than all this, it is owing to another special reason that this Presidency has been covered with glory this month. Doctor Mani Lal recently stated in Salem that, for the very first time in his life, he was attacked by the bomb of section 144 only in this Presidency. O Madras Presidency! Thine indeed is the unique glory! !

N.C.S. 32. Conviction of the non-co-operators.

Observing that, in the case brought against the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee at Ambur, the accused who offered no defence was convicted on the false evidence given by two Police Sub-Inspectors and that the High Court have, at the instance of the District Superintendent of Police, since reversed the sentence and directed the District Magistrate to take proceedings against these Sub-Inspectors, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th February, remarks:--The fact that non-co-operators do not enter any defence in the cases brought against them is highly advantageous to many Police officials. The Magistrates, deeming the evidence of the Police to be gospel, unhesitatingly convict the accused. If the proceedings till now conducted against the non-co-operators are scrutinized, we cannot say how

many cases of the kind referred to here can be found out.

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M.R. 33. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 21st February, says:--Mr. Montagu and Mr.Lloyd George have taken a vow to obstruct the attainment by India of immediate swaraj. The Indians wanted it and have adopted every righteous means to attain it. It is dishonourable and disgraceful on the part of the British nation to obstruct their endeavours.

Reforms and swaraj.

S.R. 34. In criticising the suggestion of Mrs.Besant that the limitations imposed by the Reforms Act may be overcome by a resort to the system of conventions, the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd February, says:--The Morley Reforms proved a failure. We now see the effect of the Montford Reforms recently introduced. Even the moderates have declared the dual Government to be useless. Repressive measures are now enforced more than ever. The reforms in no way serve to protect the birth-rights of the people. The country bewildered by new taxation. In certain respects the former state of the country was better than the present. When such is the state of the law what scope is there for the growth of conventions. The rights of the Indians granted at the Imperial Conference are being fearlessly opposed by Mr.Churchill. It is not possible for convention to originate in violation of the interests of the rulers. Even if there should be scope for it, the authorities will nop it in the bud.....

Swaraj and convention.

Col. 37. Under this heading, the Trilinga, of the 11th February, criticises the speech of Mr.Churchill on the East African question, and observes:--Although it is the Indians that first went to the colonies in the British Empire and made them habitable, the whitemen allow them to remain in the colonies so long as they are coolies and try to drive them out when as a result of their education or their property they assert equal rights with whitemen. The experience of Doctor Manilal is a case in point. Even in our own country we have proofs of the misdeeds of whitemen. Even in the administration of Criminal Law they have certain special facilities. They are given separate accommodation in trains. From all this it will appear that the whitemen are still self-conceited, and are blinded by arrogance.

Equal rights.

R.T.C. 46. The Andhraprakasika, of the 25th February, whites under this heading:-- By the Bardoli resolution, the conditions essential for the holding of a Round-table Conference have been fulfilled. His Excellency the Viceroy should arrange for the conference or he will let slip a good opportunity.

The Bardoli message.

N.C.S. 48. In commenting upon the reply given by Sir William Vincent in the Legislative Assembly to a question regarding the Bardoli resolution, the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th February, observes:--It is plain from the reply that the Government are not prepared to feel the pulse of popular opinion and settle the Indian situation. But if the people conduct themselves without

The angle of vision of the Government.

~~swerving~~.

swerving from the path of righteousness, their object cannot but be realized as a result of the repressive policy of the Government.

N.C.S.49. Writing under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 7th February, observes:--There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the Bardoli resolution rejected the non-co-operation programme or arrested popular agitation. The object that will be accomplished by mass civil disobedience can be easily achieved by the new methods of work. The people will be trained in swaraj. Neither Mr.Lloyd George nor Mr.Montagu nor Mr.Churchill will then dare infringe the rights of the Indians.

The resolution of the All-India Congress Committee.

Genl. 50. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 27th February, observes:--Indians not feel despondent that they cannot carry on the administration if the British officers resign their posts. It appears that it was Mr.Chruchill that stood in the way of the recommendations in the Milner Report regarding Egypt being carried out, and that he was instrumental in preparing the perverse despatch of Lord Curzon. It also appears that he is standing in the way of India getting self-government. If self-government is denied to India, Mr.Churchill will be saved from the necessity of introducing it in Ceylon and Mesopotamia which are in his charge. It is a well-known fact how Mr.Churchill has striven to deprive the Indians of East Africa of their rights.

The Indian problem and British opinion.

N.C.S52. Under this hezding, the Trilinga, of the 25th February,

The Madras Legislative Council.

writes:--We have elsewhere published a summary of the proceedings of the Council this month. This extraordinary session was held with a view to cast about for means to suppress the non-co-operation movement. The chief item of business was a departure from the usual procedure to expedite the passing of the Revenue Recovery Bill. The non-co-operators who are a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy and who are enemies to Government have no objection to the use of (these) new weapons to put an end to their movement. But how can we preserve silence when the Government swerve from the right path and try to promote dissensions among the Indians. We must emphatically assert that such methods are not worthy of the British Government which boasts of a civilized administration. In stating that the Government officials themselves may purchase in auction the lands of those who do not pay taxes, the officials themselves seem to exhort the people not to pay the taxes with a view to acquire the lands. The object of the authorities in saying that they will give the lands to the depressed classes is to promote differences between them and the other communities. From a perusal of the Bills as introduced at first, it is patent that the object of the authorities is more to dishonour the people than recover the taxes from them. Another Bill was introduced to deprive village officers resigning their posts, of their hereditary rights. It is a great mistake to try to do away, with one stroke of the pen, with the rights of those who have been living honourably in villages for centuries past. We opine that it is as grievous a mistake as the one committed by the East India Company when they attempted to invalidate the adoptions made under the Hindu Law. The consequence was the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the result of the present (measure) will be a situation

no less hazardous. Next there was a discussion on the new taxation Bills. The new reforms have resulted only in additional expenditure and the imposition of fresh taxes. To ask the Council to give their assent to fresh taxation is to put the cart before the horse. If the budget of income and expenditure is first taken up for discussion, it will be possible to know whether there has been any unnecessary expenditure and an opportunity to ask for retrenchment under certain heads will arise. The Ministers ignored all this and introduced the new taxation Bills. Two Bills were introduced to enhance the court-fees and the stamp duties. For some years past, there has been an increase of litigation in our country. It is our opinion that the enhancement of court-fees will serve as a check on the evil of resorting to courts, the people should take note of this unnecessary expenditure, boycott the courts, and settle their disputes through arbitration as desired by the Congress. The Bill to collect a new tax from zamindars in order to increase the pay of the village officers in zamindari villages fell through, irrelevent objections having been raised against it. It was admitted that great discontent prevailed among village officers on zamindari lands and that the reason for it was that, while the pay of the village officers in ryotwari villages was increased, the claims of those of zamindari villages were ignored. Although we know that, if all the people become discontented, it will be easy to put an end to the present system of administration, it devolves on the authorities and their supporters to remove this discontent. The futility of the councils is evident from their methods of procedure. The members do not reflect public opinion. It would have been well if the Congress party had not boycotted the Legislative Councils in conformity with the wishes of Mr.Gandhi.

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The resolutions of the Coorg Zamindars' Association.

Genl. 55. Criticising the reply sent by the Commissioner of Coorg, to the General Secretary of the Coorg Zamindars' Association regarding the several resolutions passed and submitted by that body in April last, the Kodagu of Mercara, of the 24th February, observes:--A perusal of this reply cannot but create disappointment throughout the province. The demand made by the Association for a Council with a Minister has been characterised as much too ambitious. When the other provinces in India have been granted such Councils, is it too ambitious on our part alone to demand such a reform? Are we not as much cultured as the people of these sister provinces? ~~Are we not as much cultured as the people of these sister provinces?~~ If our province is considred small in size why not give us a Minister on a proportionately small salary?........Anent the request for the right of electing a member to the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, the Commissioner says that this is not practicable in the absence of an electoral roll? Why is this same Government making arrangements for granting a local Council? Does not the same excuse hold godd in that case also? We request our Local Government to let alone the absence of an electoral rool and to request the Government of India to confer upon this province the right of electing a member to the Imperial Legislative Council. We apprehend that unless that privilege is asked for, it will be a long time before tee Government of India will direct their attention towards our province.

P.P. 56. Adverting to this subject, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 2nd March, in an English article observes:--"........The House of Commons would do well to place itself in the position of those who have been suffering the horrors of a jail life here and there under vindictive jingo jailors. The treatment in some of the jails cannot but stagger humanity. Flogging political prisoners is something unknown in enlightened Governments. The jingoes are sowing the wind. They will have to reap the whirlwind.......".

Indian political prisoners.

R.A. 57. Remarking that the people of this country have determined not to budge an inch from the course that has now been taken by them until the Government act according to the principles of British righteousness, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 28th February, in an article under this head-line writes:--Weapons may win for the time being, but it is righteousness alone that will win in the long run. It is, therefore, essential that the Viceroy should, after considering this fact, release all the patriots, and with their assistance inspire the Indian subjects with a real sense of loyalty and devotion. Such people as resort to repression bring disaster on themselves. We commend this fact to the notice of Lord Reading.

Repression.

S.R. 60. Remarking that two different sets of opinion have raised their heads in the country as a result of the Bardoli resolutions, the Swadesabhimani, of the 24th February, in a leading article observes to the following effect:--Every true patriot will admit that unity in thought, word and deed is quite essential in the present state of this country. When the Congress has laid down a certain programme of work and when thousands upon thousands of people have entered the jails and are suffering voluntarily in obedience to the Congress mandate, is it proper for this new party to put a stop to the whole programme? What will the enemies of the Indian swaraj movement say? It is nothing short of suicide to stop an agitation and by having recourse to co-operation? If there are any people who hold such an opinion, they would do well to join the moderate party.

Two new sets of opinion.

N.C.S. 62. Remarking that the Congressmen have given up all their offensive activities and have thereby helped to establish peace in the country, in a way prompting the Government also to do their share in the matter, the Kanthirava, of the 21st February, ina leading article observes:--It is not befitting that Government should remain unmoved without taking advantage of the present favourable opportunity. The prevailing disturbed condition of the country will not change if patriots and volunteers are sent to jail with the object of establishing peace in the land. No good purpose will be served by saying that Government have observed patience and avoided imprisoning Mr.Gandhi as they originally intended to do. Although Mr.Montagu has added to the resentment of the

Non-co-operators and Government.

people by declaring that no more reforms would be given for the present, the Congress has changed its programme and has become a pioneer in the matter of establishing peace. Mr. Gandhi has made it clear that he is not blindly stubborn and has changed his non-co-operation programme with an eye to the welfare of the country. Mr.Gandhi has thus shown his willingness to meet the authorities halfway, and it now remains to be seen how far Lord Reading and Mr.Montagu will avail themselves of this opportunity to bring about peace and concord.

R.T.C.

India and the British Parliament.

64. The Malayali, of the 20th February, condemns the speeches in Parliament regarding Indian affairs, and thinks that, in such circumstances, Malaviya's 'Round table Conference will not be productive of any good. "Don't play with us, behave well, or we will employ the whole force of the Empire"--this is the threat that now proceeds from the sugar-mouthed politicians of the war days. There must indeed be too much clay in the heads of people who will any longer confide in the words of politicians." The paper adds that the regular progress of the Congress as well as of non-violent non-co-operation and of swadesism alone will bring Parliament to its senses.

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R.A. 65. Referring to the challenge of the Madras Government to Mrs.Sarojini Nayudu, the Swarat, of the 21st February, points out that it only reveals the embarrassment, indignation and intolerance of the Government at the disclosure of the atrocities committed by their underlings and that the imputation, that a lady of Mrs.Nayudu's position is trying to stir up agitation by false allegations, is an insult offered to the people of this country, and observes that the challenge thrown by the Government , without trying to find out whether the allegations made are true or false, only tends to create the impression that the allegations are true beyond denial. It asks, "why all this fuss when an impartial enquiry will acquaint the Government and the people with the truth of the matter?".

Mrs.Naidu and the Government of Madras.

N.C.S. 69. The papers noted in the margin express their approval of the Bardoli decision of the ~~xx~~ Congress Committee. Some of them, like the Nazrani Deepika, think that the new propgramme adopted by the Congress Committee is conducive to the welfare of the country. The kerala Sanchari expects that the Government will now withdraw their policy of repression, that, if they release those that have been confined in jail, the unrest in the country will subside, and that the Government which always wish for peace and tranquillity will not give occasion to unrest and agitation in the country. The Manorama, of the 17th February, thinks that, as Mr.Gandhi has now done what was required by the Viceroy, the Government can have no excuse to retain repressive laws or to refuse to convene a Round-table Conference.

The Bardoli decision to suspend civil disobedience.

The Kerala Chandrika is of opinion that this will add to the strength and effectiveness of the Congress. The Malayali points out that this had revealed to the whole world that the Congress propaganda is strictly sincere and non-violent and that it has enhanced the estimation in which the Mahatma and the Congress are held by the people. The Kerala Patrika thinks that the non-co-operation movement gained strength till now as a result of the non-intervention policy or timidity of the Government of India that Mr.Gandhi and his followers changed their views when, among other matters, they realised the danger of their situation consequent on the changed attitude of the Government.

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S.R. 70. The Qaumi Report, of the 27th February, has a communication from a correspondent under the marginally-noted heading in which the writer discusses at length the conditions under which peace is given preference over war, and tranquillity over agitation and observes that naturally peace is preferable, but in case the former leads to destruction of the freedom of a community, war and agitation are better than peace and tranquillity.

Swaraj and the Government.

The writer finally observes that even in the past when rights of a nation were sacrificed or oppression practised it was the duty of the nation to agitate for safeguarding their rights and preventing oppression. With these remarks the writer suggests that similar measures may now be adopted.

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Genl. 72. The Qaumi Report, of the 21st February has a leader (in continuation of the article in previous issue) on this subject from which the following is an extract:--

England's diplomacy. Mussalmans should be on the alert.

The Government havenow fully understood from the present agitations in India and Egypt that it is foolish to rely on these countries for help and hence there is nothing for them but to comply with the demands of the Angora Government.

These are the things that have made England to bow her head in helplessness. Why then does not Britania made treaty with Turkey?

The reply is the Government whose confidence is shaken and who are seated on the high horse of despotism assuming the shameless garb of terror are looking for a way of divesting themselves of this dress and to regain their lost confidence by making a treaty with Turkey.

They desire to put an end to the Hindu-Muslim Unity . But the Government should bear in mind that Musalmans are not now likely to fall into their deceitful snare.

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R.A. 76. The Navayuga, of the 23rd February, in a short note, writes:--We do not at all rejoice at the abrogation of the Rowlatt Act. What is the use of such abrogations so long as similar other Acts restricting freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of association are in force?

The repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

For the week ending 11th March, 1922.

NO. 10 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

N.C.S. 3. Referring to the debate in the House of Commons on February 16th, the Hindu, of the 7th March, writes:--"While one can sympathise with Mr.Montagu in his multitudinous embarrassments, it is difficult to acquit him of attempting to play a doubt part.

The attitude of the British towards India.

The report of his speech in the Indian debate published elsewhere hardly makes it possible to accept at face-value his assurance that the granting of self-government to India will be persisted in'at all costs.' Reuter may not do him justice and may have omitted other sentences suggestive of the mental reservations which it is Mr.Montagu's habit to make; and to couple so important a statement--though for reasons that are obvious it is doubtful whether Mr. Montagu really meant what he said-with his views on the Geddes report and the necessity for the Coalition's continuance is an anti-climax over which Mr.Montagu has a legitimate grievance. That however is by the way. What is important is to know whethe the statement represents any change of heart on the part of our rulers. That there is none is clear from the official pronouncements. It is true Lord Willingdon has presented the Madras Council with a Speaker's chair but that is as far as we have got on the road to self-government. It is possible that Mr.Montagu intends to present a Mace to the Assembly ' at all costs' and thus earn the grateful applause of the Indian people. There is little else to suggest that the

regretful attitude disclosed in the debate, suggestive of a feeling that the liberal policy had been a mistake, has been modified in the light of subsequent events........We know the Government of India are in an invidious position. British public opinion is in a panic, and the ambassador of peace has become the unconscious instrument of an alienation between India and Britain greater than at any time since the advent of British rule. The 'Times' demands Mr.Gamdhi's head on a charger. Mr.Churchill thinks the Irish analogy inapplicable to India. This man of many mistakes evidently wishes to create another Ireland in India before applying the Irish solution. The Cabinet has hardened its heart against India and it is characteristic of the mounte-bank politics of the Coalition that a man like Mr.Montagu, supple as he is, could sit side by side with fire-eaters like Mr.Churchill and Lord Birkenhead and even plead that this unholy alliance should have a longer lease of life. Reaction is triumphant and even Lord Meston, a man probably unjustly suspected of liberal leanings, thinks that the reforms have gone too far, that the safe-guards against misuse of powers by the Councils are inadequate and that these are insidiously arrogating to themselves powers they were not meant to have. In the circumstances Oliver Twist asking for more could not have caused more indignant consternation than the claim for further reforms which is the Liberals' way out of the tangel. So far from being in a mood for further generosities, people in England are busy pointing out what harm the reforms have already done......That in the face of the present temper of the British public the Government can, even if it had the inclination, contemplate any advance sounds clearly absurd. The British lion is roused and its roar is echoed through the tin trumpets of Anglo-India. The crisis is performing at least one useful service.

Angry men have no use for masks and the speeches in the debate, the recent warnings of the European members in the Assembly in the Kenya debate and the heart to heart talk of Sir R.Watson-Smythe at least indicate that playing at Reforms (with a capital and much beflourished R) is one thing and taking them seriously is another. The Indian and Provincial Governments naturally reflect the attitude of the British and Anglo-Indian publics. Their one obsession is non-co-operation, their ~~obe~~ object in life is to exhibit that movement in all its hideous nakedness, their one method of achieving that consummation is to put down all the present evils, from budget deficits to a policeman's ingrowing toe-nails, to non-co-operation."

Genl. 4. The Hindu, of the 8th March, says:--"If the government of India had any qualms as to giving the Provincial satraps their heads in the ma ter of repression they can take heart at once from the fact that no less exalted and patriotic a person than the Right Honourable Mr.Srinivasa Sastri thinks the time has come when the Government should be told that Mr. Gandhi's anti-government activities should not be allowed to continue. The implied criticism, which is on the lines of the most approved and reactionary shades of British public opinion, that the Indian Government has been dangerously lenient is, coming as it does ~~xxx~~ from its own pet lamp the unkindest cut of all. It is true Mr.Sastri speaks of further reforms but it is also true that, with that genius for accommodation which has brought him so many laurels and threatens so many more, he recognizes that it would not be possible to persuade Parliament to give the necessary sanction

Mr.Sastri and non-co-operation.

Meanwhile the local Governments have apparently badgered Lord Reading into sponsoring or at least winking at the little tricks they intend to play on the law of the land and the elementary rights of the people. Lord Willingdon if rumour is to be believed is one of these and having got the necessary absolution he has lost no time in putting his schemes for the better government of the landinto effect. He has imposed a punitive police on the whole district of Guntur and as a complementary step has caused to be arrested Mr.Venkatappiah, the revered leader of Andhradesa, under a security section."

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Genl. 7. New India, of the 10th March, observes:--"It is difficult to forecast the consequences of Mr.Montagu's resignation of the office of the Secretary of State for India; but this we may say that he has been the one unfailing friend of this distracted country during the last five years, untiring in his devotion, ever zealous of its reputation, always anxious to promote its welfare and eager to guard its interests..... The extent of the loss sustained by India will be appreciated in this country only by and by, but we are convinced that it is nothingless than a disaster fraught with serious consequences which we dare not visualise to-day".

Mr.Montagu's resignation.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION. (c) Jails.

P.P. 12. The Trilinga, of the 4th March, gives a summary of the experiences of a certain political prisoner in the Coimbatore jail. It contains the following: I and other political prisoners were taken to the jail on the 19th December. From that day to the 27th January every one of us was locked up in a separate cell, and was let out every day for half an hour for food. The jail authorities chained up a prisoner who had refused to take food he could not relish and made him stand against the wall for four days. A warder beat a certain prisoner with a stick for saying that he would go to the place he was directed to after finishing the work. When the prisoner remonstrated, the warder doubled up his body and seated a heavy person on his back for an hour and a half with the result that the prisoner fell down on account of the heavy weight put upon him. Yet the warder did not leave the prisoner alone but made the other man to continue to sit on him. A complaint was made but none came forward out of fear to give evidence. The complaint was thrown out and the prisoner was placed in solitary confinement for seven days for bringing a false charge. The jailor who is a bad man said that political offenders. When asked for medicines, he will mock me saying, 'why do you want foreign medicines despised by Mr.Gandhi?' when a boy was suffering from pain in the stomach the Assistant Surgeon who always inveighs against the non-co-operation movement remarked that the non-co-operators will not fear to go tojail until the political offenders perish. He twists the ears of those who go to him for medicine. If bribes are paid, one can get any thing done in the jail. There are no facilities for bathing even after one labours in the sun and his body is covered with perspiration.

Experiences in the jail.

The paper then gives a summary of a prisoner's experiences in the Madras jail. It contains:--They refused to give me bedding or a sheet to protect myself from dampness, mosquitoes and bugs. The arrangements in the jail for easing oneself are intolerable. If at least now the authorities do not appoint a committee or responsible men to inquire into the grievances of the prisoners and act according to their recommendation, the attitude of contempt and disrespect towa rds the Madras Government will be strengthened.

Commenting on the above, the same paper remarks:--Besides denying special conveniences to political prisoners, the authorities are subjecting them to special difficulties. No Indian perusing the statements of the released prisoners ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~can help shedding tears. Elsewhere we publish the experiences of two prisoners. ~~Ex~~ If they are ture--amd we do not see any reason to doubt it--the Madras Government and especially the head of the jail department expose themselves to much disrepute.

(h) Railways.

Strike in the East Indian Railway.

Lab. 15. Prefacing a short note under this head-line with the remark that the strike in the East Indian Railway is due to the partiality shown by the Railway Companies to the Anglo-Indians to the detriment of the children of the soil, the Navayuga, of the 2nd March, observes:--The Railway Department is only second to the Telegraph Department in the matter of casting to the winds, the memorable Queen's Proclamation regarding equality of treatment to all. In this service the white-skinned man is always preferred to a qualified Indian. Indians are started on a very low salary. A white-skinned

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